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Radhakrishna Choud

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THE

VRĀTYAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

Radhakrishna Choudhary

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THE
CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT STUDIES
Vol. XXXVIII.

THE
VRĀTYAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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Dedicated

to

my revered **Guru,** *Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.,*

Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University,

Bodh Gaya.

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PREFACE

The need for a scholarly and comprehensive account of the Vrātyas has long been felt The history of the Vrātyas is in tself a subject of surpassing interest. The past is not dead in India. Nobody familiar with the history of India can help feeling that under the thin veneer of modern renaissance age-old forces are at work. It is hoped that the present publication will help focus the interest of indological scholarship on a subject to which it has not paid as much attention as it deserves. An attempt has been made here in coordinating and interpreting the enormous and widely scattered materials which have been made available to all those who may feel attracted to the story of one of the most brilliant episodes of ancient India, specially of the Vedic age. True, no reliable Vrātya chronicles are available except the Vrātyakhaṇḍa of the **Atharva Veda.** *When the German indologists acquired an interest in this subject, some of them attempted to weave the materials at hand into a string of connected tale and in this respect Hauer's* **Der Vrātya** *stands unique. Valuable as it is in many respects in the German language, it does not seem to have been used by scholars (other than German language groups) and has therefore been a sealed book for many.*

In my humble study of the subject, I have attempted to satisfy the needs of critical scholarship and to make it interesting and readable. The dissertation has been prepared on the basis of all available sources. An attempt has been made to make it a completely documented work keeping in view the famous historical adage "no document, no history". Every important statement of fact is supported by authoritative reference, though in all cases the final decision has been made by me and I alone am responsible for any error or eccentricities in judgement or otherwise. The theme has been presented by a proper sociological method in the light of various myths and religions and conforming to a rational frame of social order. Here is a critical examination of forces that have moulded the institutions of ancient India.

The cult of the Vrātyas seems to belong to the earliest civilisation of India and was once widespread among the indigenous peoples, necessitating conversion through prescribed ceremony. The term 'Vrātya' was possibly a collective name given to a group of people whose way of life was different from those who claimed to be Aryans. As the primitive peoples of India, they seem to have contributed much to the growth and development of Indian Culture. The work is divided into five chapters and deals with the different aspects of the history and culture of the Vrātyas.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to most esteemed friend, Dr. R. S. Sharma, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Patna University, who, very kindly procured for me a copy of Hauer's book from U. K. and also for his various suggestions and advice. Principal S. N. Singh of G. D. College, Begusarai, deserves thanks for his constant encouragement in all my research projects. I have no words to thank Dr. Upendra Thakur of the Department of Ancient Indian history and Archaeology of the Patna University, my erstwhile colleague, who has seen the book through the press and has helped me in various other ways. Prof. Vishwanāth Jhā Śāstri, of the Department of English, C. M. College, Darbhanga, Prof. Shaktidhar Jha, *of the Department of Sanskrit, G. D. College, Begusarai, and Pandit Surendra Shastri always came to my rescue whenever any important passage of Sanskrit came in for criticism and interpretation. Even in such cases of interpretation, the responsibility is completely mine. I am also obliged to all the pioneers in the field and I shall be failing in my duty if I do not pay my respects to my* **Purvachāryas.** *My thanks are also due to Shri Rajeshwar Jha of the Bihar Research Society who placed at my disposal all the relevant books and Journals required for the purpose. In spite of my best efforts, printing mistakes, here and there, could not be removed. I am very much thankful to my wife who kept me relieved of family anxiety and thereby enabled me to proceed with my research. Finally I am thankful to Messrs Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, for having kindly undertaken to publish the book.*

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Begusarai,
15-3-1964

Radhakrishna Choudhary

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, (Poona).

AI.—Ancient India (Delhi).

AIOC.—All India Oriental Congress, (Poona).

Ait. Br. ; *AB.*—Aiteraya Brāhmaṇa.

AA.—Aiteraya Araṇyaka.

Aṅg. N.—Aṅguttara Nikāya.

Anu. p. ; *Anuśāsana P.*—Anuśāsana Parva.

Āp. Dh. S.—Āpastamba Dharmasūtra (*ADS*).

Ap. Gr. S.—Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra (also *AGS.*).

Āp, Śr. S. Āpastamba Śrautasūtra (also *APSS*).

Aś.—Arthaśāstra.

ASR; *ĀSRAR.*—Archaeological Survey (of India–Annual Report) Report.

ĀSS.—Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.

Āśv. Gr. S.—Āśvalāyana Gṛhasūtra.

Āśv. Sr. S.—Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra (also *ASS*).

AV.—Atharvaveda.

BA.—Bhārtiya Anuśilana.

Bau. Dh. S.—Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (also *BDS*).

Baudh. Śr. S.—Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra (also *BSS*).

Bau. Gṛ. S.—Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra.

Bhār. Gr. S.—Bhardwāja Gṛhyasūtra.

Bhāg. P. (*Bhāgavata*)—Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Brahmāṇḍa—Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

Bhaviṣya P.—Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.

BD.—Bṛhaddevata.

BI.—Bibliotheca Indica.

Bṛhaspati (*Br.*)—Bṛhaspati Smṛiti.

Bṛ. P (Brahamāṇḍa P.)—Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

Bṛ. Saṁhita—Bṛhat Saṁhita.

Br. Up. (*Bṛh. Upn.*)—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upniṣad.

BR—Bothlingk and Roth.

BSS—Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

Chān. Up. (*Chāndogy-Upn.*)—Chāndogya Upniṣad.

CHI—Cambridge History of India.

CII—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

CR—Calcutta Review.
Dīgha N.—Digha Nikāya. (also *DN*)
DPPN—Dictionary of Pāli Proper names.
DKA—Dynasties of the Kali Age.
EB—Encyclopaedia Brittanica.
ED—Edited; Edition.
EI—Epigraphia Indica.
ERE—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Garuḍa P.—Garuḍa Purāṇa.
Gaut. Dh. S.—Gautama Dharma Sutra.
GOS.—Gaekwad Oriental Series.
Gopath. B.—Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
Gobhila Gṛh. S.—Gobhila Gṛhyasutra.
HCIP.—History and Culture of the Indian People.
HOS.—Harvard Oriental Series.
HGS.—Hārita Gṛhyasūtra.
HSS.—Hiraṇyakeśina Śrautasūtra.
IA.—Indian Antiquary (Bombay).
IALC.—Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture.
IC.—Indian Culture (Calcutta).
IHQ.—Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).
Ind. Alt—Indische Alterthumskunde.
Jaim.—Jaimini Mimāṁsā Sūtra.
JAOS.—Journal of the American Oriental Society, (Baltimore).
JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (Calcutta).
JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Bombay).
JBORS—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, (Patna).
JBU—Journal of the Bombay University.
JBRS—Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
JB; *Jaim-Br.*—Jaimini Brāhmaṇa.
JIH—Journal of Indian History.
JOR—Journal of Oriental Research, (Madras).
JOI—Journal of the Oriental Institute, (Baroda).
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, (London).
JRASB (L)—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters (Calcutta).

JISOA—Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JDL—Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta).
Jaim-Up. (Upn.)—Jaimini Upaniṣad.
KA—Kausitaki Araṇyaka.
Kalki P.—Kalki Purāṇa.
Kāt. Sr. S. (Kss)—Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra; *Kss (K)*—Kāsi edi.
Kāmandaka—Kāmandaka Nitisāra.
Kap. S.—Kapisthala Saṁhitā.
Kām. S. (Ks)—Kāmasūtra.
Kath. S.—Kāthaka Saṁhitā.
Kaṭho-Upn—Kaṭhopaniṣada.
Kautilya—Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.
LSS (Lāty, S. S.)—Laṭyāṇa Śrautasūtra.
Majj. N. (Majjhima N.)—Majjhima Nikāya.
Manu—Manusmṛiti.
Mark. P. (Mārkaṇḍey)—Mārkaṇḍey Purāṇa.
Matsy. P.—Matsya Purāṇa.
MBH—Mahābhārata.
MS—Maitrayāṇi Saṁhita (also *Mait. S.*)
MI—Man in India (Ranchi).
ML—Magadhan Literature.
MASI—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Nārada—Nārada Smṛiti.
NS—New Series.
Padma. P.—Padma Purāṇa.
Pāṇini—Pāṇini's Grammar.
PB (Panch-Viṁśa)—Panch Viṁśa Brāhmaṇa—also sometimes used for *Prabuddha Bhārata* in the footnotes only.
Pār. Gṛ. S. (PGS)—Pāraskar Gṛhyasūtra.
Patañjali—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.
PE—Pillar Edict.
PHAI—Political History of Ancient India.
PTS—Pāli Text Society.
PASB—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal(Calcutta).
PAIOC—Proceedings of the All India Oriental Congress.
PIHC—Proceedings of the Indian Histoty Congress.
Pras. Upn—Praṣnopaniṣad.
PI—Purāṇa Index.

Rām—Rāmāyaṇa.
RV ; *Ṛkveda*—Ṛigveda.
RV—Raghuvaṁśa.
RPVU—Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upniṣadas.
SAIC—Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture.
Saṁy. N. (Saṁyukta)—Saṁyukta-Nikāya.
SA—Śaṁkhāyana Araṇyaka.
Śāṁkha Gr. S. (SGS)—Śāṁkhāyaṇa Gṛhyasūtra.
Śāṁkh. Śr. S. (SSS)—Śaṁkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Sat. Brā (SB)—Satpatha Brāhmaṇa.
SBE—Sacred Book of the East.
Svet. Upn.—Śvetāsvatara Upniṣad.
Satyāsāra—Satyāṣāḍha Śrauta Sūtra.
SBB—Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
Skanda. P.—Skanda Purāṇa.
Sut. Nipata—Sutta Nipāta.
Taitt. Araṇayaka—Taittirīya Araṇyaka.
Taitt. Br. (TB)—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TMB (also *TB*)—Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhamaṇa *or* Brāhmaṇas.
Tr.—Translated.
Taitt. Saṁ (TS)—Taittirīya Saṁhita.
Upn—Upaniṣad.
VA—Vedic Age.
Vāy. P. (Vāyu)—Vāyu Purāṇa.
Vas. Dh. S.—Vaśiṣtha Dharmasūtra.
Vaśiṣṭhā—Vaśiṣṭha Smṛiti.
VI—Vedic Index.
Vinaya—Vinaya Pitaka.
Visn. P.—Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
Viṣṇu—Viṣṇu Smṛiti.
VS—Vājasenayi Saṁhitā (*also Vāj. Saṁ*).
VSS—Vrātyatā Sudhisaṁgraḥ.
Vrātyas—Absorption of the Vrātyas.
WZKM—Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des. Morgenlandes.
Yājñ—Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.
ZDMG—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mergentāndischen Gessellschapt, (Berlin).

* * *

Roman equivalents of Nagari Letters

अ	a	ड	ḍa
आ	ā	ढ	ḍha
इ	i	ण	ṇa
ई	ī	त	ta
उ	u	थ	tha
ऊ	ū	द	da
ए	e	ध	dha
ऐ	ai	न	na
ओ	o	प	pa
औ	au	फ	pha
ऋ	ṛ (ri)	ब	ba
क	ka	भ	bha
ख	kha	म	ma
ग	ga	य	ya
घ	gha	र	ra
ङ	ṅ	ल	la
च	cha (c)	व	va
छ	chha	श	śa
ज	ja	ष	ṣa (sh)
झ	jha	स	sa
ञ	ñ	ह	ha
ट	ṭa	अनुस्वार (’)	ṁ (ṅ)
ठ	ṭha	विसर्ग (:)	ḥ

Rām—Rāmāyaṇa.
RV; *Ṛkveda*—Ṛigveda.
RV^2—Raghuvaṁśa.
RPVU—Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upniṣadas.
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Svet. Upn.—Śvetāsvatara Upniṣad.
Satyāsāra—Satyāṣāḍha Śrauta Sūtra.
SBB—Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
Skaṇda. P.—Skanda Purāṇa.
Sut. Nipata—Sutta Nipāta.
Taitt. Araṇayaka—Taittirīya Araṇyaka.
Taitt. Br. (*TB*)—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TMB (also *TB*)—Ṭāṇḍya Mahābrāhamaṇa *or* Brāhmaṇas.
Tr.—Translated.
Taitt. Saṁ (*TS*)—Taittirīya Saṁhita.
Upn—Upaniṣad.
VA—Vedic Age.
Vāy. P. (*Vāyu*)—Vāyu Purāṇa.
Vas. Dh. S.—Vaśiṣtha Dharmasūtra.
Vaśiṣṭhā—Vaśiṣṭha Smṛiti.
VI—Vedic Index.
Vinaya—Vinaya Pitaka.
Visn. P.—Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
Viṣṇu—Viṣṇu Smṛiti.
VS—Vājasenayi Saṁhitā (*also Vāj. Saṁ*).
VSS—Vrātyatā Sudhisaṁgraḥ.
Vrātyas—Absorption of the Vrātyas.
WZKM—Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des. Morgenlandes.
Yājñ—Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.
ZDMG—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mergentāndischen Gessellschapt, (Berlin).

Roman equivalents of Nagari Letters

अ	a	ड	ḍa
आ	ā	ढ	ḍha
इ	i	ण	ṇa
ई	ī	त	ta
उ	u	थ	tha
ऊ	ū	द	da
ए	e	ध	dha
ऐ	ai	न	na
ओ	o	प	pa
औ	au	फ	pha
ऋ	ṛ (ri)	व	ba
क	ka	भ	bha
ख	kha	म	ma
ग	ga	य	ya
घ	gha	र	ra
ङ	ṅ	ल	la
च	cha (c)	व	va
छ	chha	श	śa
ज	ja	ष	ṣa (sh)
झ	jha	स	sa
ञ	ñ	ह	ha
ट	ṭa	अनुस्वार (’)	ṁ (ṅ)
ठ	ṭha	विसर्ग (:)	ḥ

* * *

THE VRĀTYAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

Introductory Remarks

Of the various problems still facing the Indologists, there is one, deserving special study on scientific lines, of the status and position of the Vrātyas in Ancient India. Though scholars all over the world have discussed this problem in their own way in different *journals* and *books*, the mysterious character of the problem remains where it was. The 15th Khaṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda* is yet a mystery to most of us and any attempt to give a scientific interpretation of the Vrātya hymns is welcome. Indologists all over the world are grateful to Dr. J. W. Hauer for his brilliant and penetrating analysis of the subject in his famous book "*Der Vrātya*". Even his treatment of the subject is, more or less, an intelligent compilation and a good interpretation of different texts and accepted views on the subject and it is interspersed with some conclusions here and there. For the present, Dr. Hauer's study, though incomplete, is the only work in any language on the subject. A summary of Dr. Hauer's findings has been published in the *Bhārtiya Anuśilana* (in Hindi).

The study of the subject centres round the *Vrātyakāṇḍa* of the *Atharvaveda*. The main point, engaging our attention here, is that had the problem been of a purely mystic nature, as Śrī Sampurṇānanda thinks, it should not have engaged the attention of so many scholars here and abroad. The *Smṛitis*, *Sūtras*, *Brāhmaṇas* and other sources have also touched the problem and have thrown sufficient light on the nature of the subject. The following studies on the *Vrātya* problem deserve mention :—

(1) *Der Vrātya*—J. W. Hauer.

(2) *Einige Bruchstücke der Vrātya Spekulation*—J. W. Hauer–in the *Winternitz Commemoration Volume* of 1933.

(3) *Vrātyasamasyā*—in the *Bhārtiya Anuśilana* (*G. S. Ojhā Commemoration Volume*–1934)

(4) R. G. Ojhā–*Vrātyastoma*—in the *Dayānanda Commemoration Volume* (1933).

(5) V. M. Apte—*The importance of the conception of Vrata in social and religious life of the Rigvedic Aryans and its bearing on the problem of Vrātyas*, in the *AIOC–XI* (Hyderabad Session).

(6) A. Chakravarti—*'The Vrātyas'*–*AIOC*–III (Madras).

(7) B. K. Sarkar–"*Sociological approach to Vedic Culture*" —*PB* (1935–September–November).

(8) A. P. Karmarkar–(i) *'The Vrātyas in Ancient India'*—*JBU* (July 1942) (ii) *The Religion of India*–Vol I.

(9) Mm. H. P. Śāstri—*The Vrātyas in Ancient India*.

(10) Sampurnānanda—*Vrātyakāṇḍaṁ*-Other studies, in this connection, will be referred to when we shall discuss the the different theories about the *Vrātyas*.

Besides these secondary works, there are references to the *Vrātya* in the *VS* (XXX, 8), *TB* (III, 4, 5, 1), *TMB* or *PB* (XVII. 1–4; XXIV. 18), *LSS* (VIII. 6), *BSS* (XVIII. 25; *KSS* XXII. 4.1–28); *ASS* (XXII. 5.4–14); *SSS* (XIV. 69–72); *Praśnopaniṣad* (2. 11); *Amarakoṣa* (II. 7. 54); *Abhidhānachintamaṇi* (verse 854–ff.) *MBH* (VIII, 37, 12 ff, 2026ff); *Bṛhatśamhitā* (87, 39), Manu (X. 21) and other texts. While these texts are explicit on the question of the Vrātyas, the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are yet unexplained. The texts of the *AV*, when read with these sources, are helpful in determining the real character of the *Vrātya* in ancient India. The Vrātya was not a mystic figure but represented a type of people. These people had their own culture and their habits were different from those of the Aryans.

The high tributes, paid to the Vrātyas in the *AV*, support my point of view. Frequent mention of their dress, living habits, agricultural weapons and other details are indicative of the fact that the Vrātyas were a people who upheld certain beliefs in their land of birth and tried to maintain them as far as possible. Dr. Hauer calls it "non–brāhamnical religion" while Dr. Karmarkar goes to the length of ascribing everything to Vrātya origin and further goes to suggest that they had a cult and philosophy of their own.

Besides these textual works on the subject, we have the popular belief, even today in Bihar, that southern bank of the Gaṅgā is impure on account of its association with Magadha, the seat of impure culture and heretical sects. Magadha, Aṅga Vaṅga and Kaliṅga were regarded as unholy places by our seers of ancient India. The popular belief is that these regions of the east were never aryanised. Hence it is imperative on us to study the problem of this land of traditional impurity and heretical sects from a scientific point of view. Magadha was associated with Ājivikaism, Jainism and Buddhism. Both in respect of politics and religion, Magadha played a distinct role in ancient India and challenged the accepted Aryan views of the west. Magadha is also associated with the *Vrātya* or the *Rājanya* culture of the east. Had the *Vrātya* been a mystic figure, what was the necessity of framing rules for initiation and other rites. Why the *AV* glorified the *Vrātya*, usually associated with Magadha ? Why we do not come across the *Vrātya* in the *Rigveda* ? Why is it that even as late as the 17th.–18th. century, books, prescribing rites for purification, were written on the *Vrātya* problem ?

A close study of all the texts reveals to us that the *Vrātyas* were a set of organised peoples somewhere in eastern India having definite rites and customs. They differed from the Vedic Aryans and developed their own system of thought and culture. Anthropological studies of eastern India have shown the difference of culture and a scientifiic study of the

Vrātya problem on anthropological lines will bring to light more facts. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to present a scientific study of the Vrātyas in Ancient India on the basis of all available records and datas both in literature and elsewhere.

II

Different theories regarding the Vrātyas

Sri R. R. Bhagwat was the first scholar to draw our attention towards the non-aryan character and other problems relating to the Vrātyas. He says—"...the graphic description of the Brāhmaṇa clearly establishes that the word Vrātya originally denoted some non-aryan tribes. As these non-aryan tribes had a covering for the head to keep the sun off and were clad in white garments, with black borders, and had a silver currency and painted shoes, they can not be said to have been savages......when we come down from the Brāhmaṇa to the Sūtra (*Period*) we find that the society of the Vrātyas acknowledged the three grades of the educated, the high born and the wealthy, which perhaps formed its upper classes, and which at times, with its masses, made attempts to overwhelm the followers of the Vedas. The plan of assimilation by conversion was perhaps suggested to the Aryans by the necessity of expansion. The Vedic tradition, at least as embodied in the Sūtra of Lāṭyāyana, points to the province of Bihār as being the cradle of the non-aryan race.[1]"

Dr. A. B. Keith says[2]—"That they (*Vrātyas*) were non-aryans is not probable for it is expressly said that, though unconsecrated, they spoke the tongue of the consecrated; they were thus apparently aryans."

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[1] *JBBRAS*—XIX. 363ff.

[2] *VI*–II; *JRAS* (1913) P. 155; *Cf. RPVU* (HOS) Vol XXXI P. 338.

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Dr. D. R. Bhaṇḍārkar holds that the Vrātyas belong to the same race as that of the Indus valley............they must have belonged to the race of the Magas of Persia.[3] He identifies them with the Magadhas of Sakadwipa who migrated to India from Central Asia.

J. Charpentier holds that the Vrātyas were the early worshippers of Śiva in India.[4]

K. Chattopādhyay believes that between 2000 and 1500 B. C.......... Aryan tribes entered India from Central Asia and became known as Vrātyas.[5]

J. W. Hauer believes that the Vrātyas were ecstasies of Kshatriya clan and forerunner of the yogis.[6]

A. P. Karmārkar has tried to prove that the Vrātya institution was a proto–Indian one with definite deity, division and procedure.[7]

N. N. Ghosh holds–"Indo-aryan literature cum culture is not the single lined metabolic evolution of a pure blooded Aryan organism. It is a synthetic product whereof the material elements were in the main of non-aryan eastern Vrātya Origin".[8]

Mm. H. P. Śāstrī says—"The acceepted meaning is 'fallen from the Vrata, *i. e.*, degraded on account of neglecting or transgressing against the duties of the caste."[9]

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[3] D. R. Bhaṇḍārkar—*SAIC*–P. 42, 43, 48.

[4] *WZKM*—23, 151ff; 25, 355ff.

[5] *CR* (May–1924) P. 287ff.

[6] J. W. Hauer—*Die Anfange der Yogapraxis* (Berlin, 1922) p. 11ff. Cf. *Der Vrātya* (Sttutgart–1927).

[7] *JBU* (July 1942) P. 80ff.

[8] *IALC*—P. 272; Cf–*IHQ*–X (S. K. Dey's article); *India and the world* III ; *PB* XXXIX; *JBU* (1935); *ABORI* XVII; *MI* XVII.

[9] *Dacca University Bulletin* No. VI—"*Absorption of the Vrātyas*" P. 1; *ML* P. 5.

Dr. Buddhaprakāśa says—"Analogous to Vṛtra is Vrātya. Both these words have a common root, though Vrātya is derived from 'Vrata' or Vrāti meaning a horde or settlement. Vrātya, thus, means one, who belongs to a horde.[10] Vrātya has been identified with king Pṛthu Vainya of the Purāṇas,[11] Daiva Prajā worshippers who worshipped the same gods as the Vedic Aryan[12]; with Alpines of Iran or Magians of the Gangetic valley[13], with the Turānians,[14] with the heretical people who had the tradition of the Jinas and Buddhas before sixth Centry B. C. [15]

None of these finally settles the problem of the Vrātyas. Even Dr. Buddhaprakāśa, who claims to have examined anew the evidences relating to the Vrātyas, instead of settling the issue, has posed a new problem in his conclusion. He says—"...both (Vṛtra and Vrātya) of which were synonymous designations of the priestly class, among the non-aryan peoples of India, who first checked the advance of the aryans and fought with them and later on converted them to their religious order. This class came to be known as Brāhmaṇas in later times[16]."

Sampurnānanda believes in the mythical origin of the Vrātyas.[17] The Vrātyas were known to the authors of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇa*. Mm. H. P. Śāstrī takes *vrāta* to mean "those outside the circle of his own people…*i. e.*, outside the *ṚṢI* circle and hostile to it. *Vrāta* does not occur in the *Yajurveda*, Vrātya does. The Vrātyas are fit objects to be sacrificed at the altar of the god named *Atikruṣṭa* (Loud Noise.). The derivation of the word, *Vrātya*, from *Vrāta* is perfectly grammatical—"*Vrāte samvetāḥ Vrātyāḥ*." In the *Yajurveda*, Vrātya meant "men, assembled in large numbers, making loud noise, hostile to the *Ṛṣis*, and not belonging to their society."[18] Vrātya has been equated with the fallen persons in the *Mahābhārata*[19] The Purāṇas give us a clue to the understanding of the Vrātya problem. We are told in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[20] that Vaśiṣṭha rescued various tribes by turning them into Vrātyas. According to Śaṅkara, the Vrātyas were equated with the Greeks and the barbarians (*Yavana* and *Mlecha*)[21]. Śaṅkara explained Vrātya (Praśna upaniṣad 2.11) as meaning 'uninitiated' because of his being the first born, and there being no one else to initiate him; therefore 'pure by nature'. This is a noteworthy characterisation; for later a Vrātya is either a despised, non-Brāhmnical low caste man, or else a man who has lost caste through the non-observance of proper ceremonies. The Vrātya has been glorified in the *AV (XV)*.

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[10] *ABORI*—XXX. 195.

[11] *IALC*—P. 36.

[12] *ML*—P. 5.

[13] *IC*—III P. 166, 167 (B. M. Barua's article "*Alpines in eastern India*")

[14] R. C. Datta—*A history of civilisation in Ancient India*. P. 203.

[15] *JBORS*—XIV. 26 (Jayaswāl's Notes on the Brāhmin Empire)

[16] *ABORI*—XXX. 197

[17] *Vrātyakāṇḍam*—He considers *AV* to be of greater importance than the *Rigveda* in so far as the spiritual and metaphysical matters are concerned.

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[18] *Dacca University Bulletin* (*Vrātya* P. 2); *ML*: Pp. 3–4.

[19] *MBH* (*Karṇaparva* 37. 44–46). In Verse 32, they are styled as—

एवं शीलेषु व्रात्येषु वाल्हीकेषुदुरात्मसु. Cf *Droṇaparva*—143.17 where Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis have been designated as Vrātyas.

[20] *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*—(Madhyabhāga) 63.138 ff. In connection with the events of the conquest of Sagara, we learn that the various tribes of the Śakas, Pahalavas, Yavaṇas, Kambojas, Paradas, Māhisikas, Daravas, Cholas, Khaśas and others went to Vaśiṣṭha for rescue.

[21] S. Radhakrishnan—"*Religion and Society*" (Kamla Lectures) P. 116.

The various theories, discussed above, are not only conflicting but contradictory as well. It is not possible to accept all of them *in toto*. The above mentioned theories are not free from doubt though only a few of them deserve consideration. We have no epigraphic or numismatic evidences to support any point of view so far as the present question is concerned. For a study of this particular problem we have to depend solely on the literary evidence. The chances of being caught in the net of hazy confusion are not only few and far between but many. It is not enough to discuss whether the Vrātyas were aryans or non-aryans but we will have to go into the details of their social organisation, custom, religion and philosophy. That will go a long way off in solving a number of allied problems of our ancient culture, specially of Magadha, which was once the cradle of all heretical sects. The Vrātya problem represented a wide cultural movement which held the field for a considerably long period.

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CHAPTER II

ORIGIN AND LOCATION OF THE VRĀTYAS

I

Who were the Vrātyas ?

The first and foremost reference with regard to the Vrātyas is found in the *AV–XV*. A Vrātya is described there as a wandering Vedic priest, roaming in the different non–aryan provinces and converting the people of those places to the Brāhmanic fold[1]. Vrātya has been defined as "belonging to a roving band (*Vrata*), vagrant, member of a fellowship that stood without the Brāhmanical pale."[2] From the different sources, we learn that the eastern tribes of Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra etc., played an important part in ancient Indian history. The man of Magadha has been connected with the nomadic Vrātya.[3] We do not how Dr. Triveda[4] finds mention of the word *'Vrātya'* in the *Rigveda* (I. 163·8 and IX. 14·2). Vrātya has been interpreted by some as equivalent to troops (*AV* II. 9.2). Among the list of victims of human sacrifice in the *Saṁhitās* of *Yajurveda*, Vrātya is also included (*V.S.*

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[1] *AV*–XV. 1.; Cf–*PIHC* X. 122. reference given here seems to be wrong as there is no such chapter XV. 1.12. XV. 1 ends in 8.

[2] *Bothlingk and Roth*, Quoted in *HOS* VIII. 769. There is a different version altogether in the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* VI. 1503; *MBH* classes the Vrātya with the offsprings of society such as incendiaries, prisoners, pimps, adulterers, abortionists, drunkards and so on (V. 35.46).

[3] *LSS* VIII. 6.28—सर्वेंव्रात्यापूर्वोक्तानि व्रात्यधनाभिदद्युः । *KSS*—XXII. 4.24. मागधदेशीयाय ब्रह्मवन्धवेदक्षिणाकाले व्रात्यधनानिदद्युः । व्रात्यामगध-देशनिवासी; Cf *Der Vrātya*, PP. 6, 7, 96–97 143.

[4] *JBRS*—XXXVI. *Pts* III & IV. P. 135ff.

XXX. 8; *TB*. III, 4, 5, 1). In the marāṭhī language, Vrātya means naughty, unmanageable and playing pranks.[5] Sāyana interprets the word "Vrātya' as "fallen". Āpastamba derives it from the root *"Vrata"* (a vow) and a Vrātya is described as a Śrotriya.[6] According to Baudhāyana, Vrātya is a son of an uninitiated man.[7] According to the *Viṣṇudharmapurāṇa*,[8] Vrātya means "One who has let go the proper time for the sacrament of initiationship."

The Vrātya seems to have been a kind of ascetic different from *munis*.[9] The Vrātya figured between Brahmachārin and Skambha and was under the Saivite influence. The Vrātya (*Vrātina* ?) seems to be a kind of Brahmacharin, or at any rate one who has entered the Brāhmnical community after having been converted from an aryan, but non-brāhmnical tribe.[10] Those, who believe in the idealisation and mystification of the *Vrātyakāṇḍa* of the *AV* (XV), hold Vrātya as a type of Supreme power in the Universe.[11] The term 'Vrātya',

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[5] *SAIC*—49. Cf the Paippalapāda recension of the *AV* (XV. 1) where Vrātya has been described as one of the many forms in which is a Brāhmaṇa celebrated.

[6] *ADS*—II. 37, 13-17; *SBE* II. PP. 118-19.

[7] *BDS*—I. 8.

[8] III. 233.72; Cf Manu II. 39, X. 39; Cf Bloomfield—*Atharvaveda and Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, P. 95 n–"Vrātya is derived from compounds like *Anyavrata, Apavrata* etc. "having different customs."

[9] P. T. S. Aiyangar—*'Life in the age of the Mantras'*–P. 78.

[10] Bloomfield—*Atharvavcda and Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. P. 94.

[11] A. Chakravarti—*Jain Gazette* (1925)–Cf *BA*. PP. 16-17 लौकिक व्रात्य के पर्यटन तथा उसके पवित्र अनुष्ठान में प्रधान 'कर्म महाव्रत है……" स्कम्भ के अनुष्ठान की कल्पना भी, जिसका व्रात्य कल्पना से निकट सम्बन्ध है, इसी नमूने पर हुई —

Cf Anandagiri—असंस्कृत इति । संस्कार हीनो व्रात्य इति स्मृतेरिति अर्थाः । अनेन स्वतः शुद्धत्वं विवक्षितमित्याह ।

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first denoting respect and spiritual purity, was applied to religious protestants among the aryans who were opposed to ritualism of Indra cult and afterwards was extended to the lower orders among the new faiths.

According to Monier-Williams the word '*Vrātya*' means—"a man of mendicant or vagrant class, a tramp, outcaste, low or vile person, either a man who had lost caste through the non-observance of ten principal Sanskāras, or a man of particular low caste descended from a śūdra and a kṣhatriya and according to some the illegitimate son of a kṣhatriya who knows the habits and intentions of soldiers[12]." We have two significant words in the vedas, *viz*; "*Vrātāni*" (*R. V*. III. 26.6 and V 53.11) and "Vrātyabhyāṁ' (*AV* 19. 23. 25)[13] which may help us in bringing to light the meaning and significance of the

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Hauer says—"Auch in der Cūlika up. taucht der Vrātya als Urprinzip auf, und Zwar neben höchst ehrwürdingen, die uns in der Höhe der mystischen Spekulation begenen, wie brahman, skambha, rohita, prāṇa, puruṣa and Solchen, die dem rituellen Bereich entstammen wie der Brahmacārin………… (*Der Vrātya* P. 311).

[12] *Sanskṛta-English Dictionary*—P. 1043. He explains the term as follows—

(a) *Vrātyagaṇa*—the Vagrant class
(b) *Vrātyāchārya*—the life and practice of a Vagrant
(c) *Vrātyātva*—the condition of a Vrātya
(d) *Vrātyadhana*—the property of a Vrātya
(e) *Vrātyayājaka*—One who sacrifices for a Vrātya.

Cf—*Baṅgiya Śabdakoṣa*— (by H. C. Bandhopādhyay) p. 2237

(i) *Vyāsa*—1.20 वेदव्रतच्युतो व्रात्यः
(ii) *Śuklayajurveda* XXX. 8 सवित्रिपतितः
(iii) *Yājñavalkya*—1.38; *Viṣṇu* 27.27

[13] Bloomfild-*Vedic Concordance*—*Vrāta* has been explained as संघात्मक (*Rv.* —1.163.8); अविवक्षितगण (*RV*–5.5.11); समूह (*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.79.51) and also in *Raghuvaṁśa* (XII.94)

term Vrātya. Vrātas were bands of war-like moving aboriginal tribes with whom the aryans came into conflict. Aryan heroes are called *Vrātasāhaḥ*.[14] Pāṇini defines vrāta as a saṅgha living by violence[15]. On the authority of Pāṇini, Dr. V. S. Agrawāl holds—"the vrātas seem to have been the same as Vrātyas[16]". Vrātas or vrātinas, according to Weber, were non-brāhmnical western tribes[17]. The word "*Vrāta*" of the *TMB* (xvii. 1.5) has been explained by Sāyana as *Vrātyasamudāya*. Dr. Agarwāl believes that the '*utsedha*' of the *kāsika* corresponds to '*Prasedha*' of the *LSS* (VIII. 6.7)[18]. According to Pātañjali, vrāta refers to saṁgha[19]. Bhānuji Dikshita[20] has also derived 'Vrātya' from 'Vrāta'.

Weber believes that the Vrātya is derived from the word "Vrāta" (troop), the chief of a band of wanderers of aryan extraction, but absolutely independent, free from the fetters of Brāhmnical heirarchy and not following the aryan way of life[21] Regarding the identification of the vrātyas and their institution, Dr. A. P. Karmārkar says—" (the institutlon), being, the earliest organisation of the proto-Indians, pervading through the whole of India ... to nullify the effects of which the aryans started a parallel institution of the *Chāturvarṇya*." [22]

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[14] *RV*—VI. 75.9; X. 34.12—यो व सेनानीमर्हतो गणस्य राजा व्रातस्य प्रथमो वभूव

[15] *Kāsikā*—V. 3.113—उत्सेध जीविनः संघा व्राताः

[16] *India as known to Pāṇini*—p. 440.

[17] *History of Indian Literature*. P. 78, cf *VI*. II.344.

[18] व्रात्याप्रसेधमानायान्ति—*Comm*–ञोकमासेधन्तः प्रशयन्तः

[19] 5.2.21—व्रातेन जीवति "कि व्रातंनाम ? नाना जातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः संघा व्राताः तेषाम् कर्म व्रातम्। व्रातकर्मणा जीवतीतिव्रातीनः

[20] *Sudhāṭikā* on *Amarakṣa* 5.3.103

[21] Weber—*Indische Studien*—I. 35, 51, 121–40.

[22] A. P. Karmarkar—*The Religions of India* Vol. I—P. 19.
Cf. Sampurnānanda—op. cit. p. 10—Explaining *AV* XV. 1.1.8, he says—"व्रात का अर्थ है समूह। उसके पति को व्रात्य कहते हैं। जीवों

From the above conflicting interpretations it is evident that the actual identity of the Vrātya has not yet been possible. The conflicting evidences in literature do not enable us to arrive at any definite conclusion. *Vrūta* and *Vrata* are the two words from which the vrātya is said to be derived and the difficulties, involving the derivation of the vrātyas, arise there. The following study will show that the Vrātyas were a people associated with a particular place, having their own cultural standard. Since the very problem of aryan question is not open and above board, we can not, at this stage, hint at the possibility of identifying Vrātyas with either the aryans or the non-aryans.

The *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana Parva*) equates the Vrātyas with the chaṇḍālas (*line* 2621). A faithful fulfiller of vows (*Vrata*) is called a Vrātya.[23] The exact meaning of the expression "*Vrātyāṁ pravasaṅti*" has not yet been clear though Calland[24] has tried to explain it in the following manner—"*Vrātyāṁ pravasaṅti*" is elliptic for "*Vrātyām Vasatima pravasati* or "leading the life of a joined group from Vrata." Is not the present explanation a presumption to suit his own interpretation of the text ? Griffith calls Vrātya a heretical nomad...a human wanderer in search of food and lodging, a religious mendicant, regarded as a being of peculiar sanctity[25]. Zimmer is of opinion that the Vrātyas were classless peoples outside the

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की समष्टि व्रात है, उसका पति परमात्मा है — इन्द्रियादि के संघात का नाम व्रात है। उसका अधिष्ठाता प्रत्यगात्मा (जीवात्मा) है।—For details P. 10 ff. He accepts the derivation of Vrātya from Vrāta. It is evident from his above interpretation that he has mystified and philosophised the simple meaning. *AV*–XV–is itself mysterious and writers on the subject have made it all the more so.

[23] *SBE*—II. 118-19.

[24] *PB*—P. 455 note.

[25] *The Hymns of Atharvaveda*—P. 199. also *Preface*.

social polity.[26] He calls them aryan but living outside the Brāhmanical polity. A critical study of the *Mahābhārata* reveals to us that no definite conclusion can be arrived at, in the present state of our knowledge, without taking into consideration the history of the areas in which they were located.[27]

II

Origin and Location of the Vrātyas

The localities, in which the Vrātyas lived, can not be stated with certainty, but their roving habits suggest that they were possibly western tribes beyond Saraswati[28]. It is likely that they may have been in the east as is supported by the *Sūtras*[29]. Whitney regards the Vrātya as a mystic figure[30]. With regard to the mystification of the Vrātyas in the *AV* (XV), Roth[31] is of opinion that here it is not a case of the Vrātya of the *PB* at all, but of a glorification of the Vrātya as the type of the pious vagrant or *Parivrājaka*. Macdonell and Keith do not subscribe to this view[32]. Bloomfield holds that the *AV* exalts the converted Vrātya.[33] The Magadhas[34] have been described as a people

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[26] *Alt–Indisches*–Leben P. 216.

[27] S. Sorensen—"*Index to the names in the Mahābharata*"–p.752; For reference to Vrātyas in *MB*H, Cf V. 1229, VII. 5965, VIII. 2038, 2045, 2057, 2069, 2090, XII 10869, XIII. 2621.

Cf *Der Vrātya*—pp. 233-40; The *Mahābhārata* refers to a number of races and peoples folowing primitive customs.

Cf Hauer—*Yogapraxis*–176 ff.

[28] If we accept the derivation of the Vrātya from Vrāta.

[29] In the *Sūtras*, we find that the Brāhmaṇas, receiving the gift of Vrātyaś outfit, are inhabitants of Magadha.

[30] Cf—*HOS*–VIII.

[31] Cf—*St. Petersburg Dictionary*

[32] *VI*–II. 344.

[33] *Atharvaveda & Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.*

[34] *BDS*–1.2, 13, *BSS*–XX. 13, *ASS*–XXII. 6.18, *HSS*–XVIII. 6, *ZDMG*—56.553, *AA*–ii. 1.1, Keith *AA*–200, *SA*. 46, note 4.

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in the *Sūtras*. The Magadhan wandering bands were apt to visit western lands. The *KA*[35] mentions *Madhyama Prātibodhi putra* as *Magadhavāsina*. In the *AV*, Magadha is said to be connected with the Vrātya.[36]

Both the *KSS* and the *LSS* regard Magadha as the chief and recognised centre of the Vrātyas and their culture. The aryans held Magadha in low esteem. Magadha was at a greater distance from the centre of aryan culture in the west. Weber thinks that it was so because of the persistence of more aboriginal blood here. That was possibly one of the strongest reasons for the dislike of Magadha by the early vedic people. Pargiter propounded the view that in Magadha, the aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea[37]. According to Baudhāyana, the Māgadhas were of mixed origin.[38] Dr. H. C. Raichoudhary takes the Lichchavis and the Mallas as Vrātyas along with the Andhaka–Vṛṣṇis, who are classed as such by the *Mahābhārata,* and observes "...that they represented an earlier swarms of aryans who were pushed southwards and eastwards by the Puru-Bharatas, the progenitors of the Kuru-pañchāla. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* actually refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satavatas, the progenitors of Vṛṣṇi–Andhakas. The great epic refers to the exodus of the Yādavas from Mathurā owing to the pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha and probably also from the Kurus.[39]"

The *Rigveda* actually refers to the peoples called *Kurus, Pañchālas, Surasenas, Kosalas* and *Magadhas* though under different names, *viz, Bharatas, Krivis,* (also Ṣriñjayas who constituted one section of the Pañchāla people, the other four

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35. *KA*—VII. 13. This is not mentioned in earlier *Aiteraya Aranyaka*. Oldenberg regards this as unusual–Cf. *Buddha*. P. 400, note, Cf. Weber–*Indian Literature*–P. 112, note.
36. *AV*—XV.
37. *JASB*-(1897)–P. 111, *JRAS* (1908)—53.
38. *BDS*–1.1.29
39. *PHAI*^{5}—142,

being named *Mudgala, Brihadishu, Yavināra* and *Krimilāśva* in the *Brahmapurāṇa*–XIII. 94–95), *Yadus*, Aryans on the banks of Saryu and *Kikaṭas* respectively. Regarding the *Kikaṭas*, the only available evidence is that of the *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* (1.3 .24 with Śrīdhar's Commentary), the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* (XXVI. 20) and the *Abhidhānchintāmaṇi*. These authorities identify *Kikaṭas* with the people of Magadha[39](a). The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* associates Magadha with the Vrātya culture.[40] The *AV* certainly knows the Aṅgas and Magadhas but never refer to the Gaṅgā, the Śoṇa and Champā. That does not detract us from our point of view as we know that Hiuentsang does not refer to Yamunā in connection with Mathurā. The *Dwijas* of Arbuda became Vrātya after Purañjaya's[41] days. The *Arbuda* is a tribe of the south. The *Dwijas* of the country of Ābhiras became Vrātya after Purañjaya's days.[42] Even *Kāśmiramaṇḍala* became the possession of the Vrātyas.[43]

There can be little doubt that the Purāṇa literature represented the synthesis of at least three distinguishable forms of culture, *viz*,

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[39] (a). Rāhul Sānkṛtāyana in his recent articles in the *Ājakalu* has called into question the identification of *Kikaṭas* with the people of Magadha. He has tried to locate them somewhere near the Punjab.

[40] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (4.24.18) P. 585—मागधायां विश्वस्फटिक संज्ञोऽन्यान् वर्णन करिष्यति ।…… सौराष्ट्रावन्ति शूद्रानर्बुद मरूभूमि विषयांश्च व्रात्या द्विजार्भार शूद्राद्याः भोक्षयन्ति । सिन्ध तटदार्वीकोर्वीचन्द्रभागा काश्मीर विषयान् व्रात्योम्लेच्छाद्यः शूद्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति ।

Cf. the Gitā press edition of the same work 4.24. 68–69. The *Purāṇas* can be taken as an important source for the study of the Vrātya problem.

[41] *Bhāgwata*—XII. 1.38; *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 16.62; IV. 44.94; Cf. Dikshitār—*Pl*; I. 111.

[42] *Bhāgwata* II. 4.18; In all these texts, the Vrātya has been described as '*Patita*–Cf. *P1*. 1.164.

[43] *Bhāg*. XII. 1.39; *Viṣṇu P*. IX. 24.69.

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(a) Vedic culture,
(b) an older eastern advanced Vrātya culture
(c) Older aboriginal culture in which phallism and mother worship were the most prominent.[44]

The Vrātya culture flourished on the river basins of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Mr. N. N. Ghosh considers the eastern Vrātyas as foreign immigrants, whose former homeland is not exactly known.[45] He finds a close similarity between the aryans and the *Magi*.[46] The *Pṛthvi-Sūkta* of the *AV* and the *Purāṇas* appear to present a non-vedic aryan east Gangetic version of *Yima*[47] legend which the Vrātya Rājanya might very well have taken there with them from its home in Media. The anthropologists find this legend of Pṛthvi goddess as lurking behind the local Śakti cult and behind the more spiritualised *Prakṛti* concept of the *Sāṁkhya*. The anthropologists have not yet been able to solve much of the problems of human development in different periods of our history. Anthropological study of the Vrātya problem is yet a desideratum. The *Magians* possibly preceded the aryans in Magadha and evolved as the Vrātyas whose culture is found reflected in the *AV* and the *Purāṇas*.[48] Magadha was the centre of the Vrātya culture and it actually attained the imperial status in overshadowing proportions. Magadhan Vrātyas developed a synthetic culture which seems to have been superior to Vedic culture in many respects.

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[44] N. N. Ghosh – "*The Aryan trail in Iran and India*" (Cal. 1937) *Preface*–P. V.

[45] *Ibid*—217. Also—Cf. *Kausambi Excavation Report* (G. R. Sharma)

[46] *Ibid*–219. Both the *Magians* and the Aryans are concerned with–
(i) things of the mind
(ii) theosophy laying stress on esotericism
(iii) austere modes of living
(iv) ritualistic uncleanliness
(v) extravagant faith in spells 'and mantras
(vi) cow-dung in India and *GOMEJ* amongst the Magians.

[47] *Ibid*—221. Vedic Aryan *Yama* is said to have been a variant of Avestan *Yima*. For the points of resemblance between pre-Zoroastrian proto-magian culture and the Vrātya culture of the eastern Gangetic vally, see *Calcutta Review* of 1934. The confusing details in different sources make the confusion worst confounded.

Here we are confronted with the two conflicting viewpoints of Pargiter and Ghose. The assumptions, that the Vrātyas came from outside, may be discussed in the light of anthropological findings. Even the aryans themselves were not free from mixtures. They passed through Syria and Mesopotamia absorbing a good deal of Semitic blood before they reached India[49]. Anthropologists believe that the aryans, after reaching Iran, persued two diverging paths, one towards the west and the other towards the east. The branch that went towards the east proceeded into India, being obliged to pass across the regions already inhabited by tribes, related to the Mediterranean and, perhaps, also by tribes akin to the Dravidians, appears anthropologically to have been very brown *delicocephals*[50]. The delicocephalism in found mostly in true aryans of the Vedic group and can be easily distinguished from the groups of the outer regions. Chanda has shown that among the Maithila Brāhmaṇas of Bihar, the delicocephals prevail[51]. He further holds that the Indo-aryans of the 'outer countries' (*i. e.* outside the Vedic group) originally came from an ethnic stock that was different from the stock from which the vedic aryans originated[52]. The fact that Utkala is also included among the list of fallen countries of the east is supported by the anthropological sources. After their entry into India, when the Alpines found that the middle portion of the Gangetic plain was in possession of the vedic aryans, they proceeded to a lower territory, descended along its eastern border as far as Orissa[53].

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[48] *Ibid*—208. It has been pointed out by a competent authority that "the upper classes in Bihar, Bengal and Assam are said to differ from the bulk of the population in being broad headed rather than long headed"—Deniker in his "*Races of Man*"; Cf *MI*–XV (1935) No. 1.

[49] R. P. chanda—*Indo–Aryan Races*. P. 33.

[50] V. G. Ruggeri—*The first outlines of Systematic Anthropology of Asia*, PP. 32–34 (Calcutta University Anthropological Paper. No. 6. Translated dy H. C. Chakaldar)

[51] Chanda—*op. cit.* 43.

The *Dasyus* or the non-aryans of Vedic India were the true aboriginals, the fifth order of the Vedic Society or the *Niṣādas.* The *Niṣādas* and the Vrātyas had the right to perform sacrifices[54]. Ethnically and culturally, the *Dāsas* stand differentiated as they are noseless, misfeatured and black. Culturally the Dāsas are riteless *(akarman)*, indifferent to god, not sacrificing (*ayajvan*), lawless (*avrata*), following strange customs (*anyavrata*), of unintelligible speech[55] and phallus-worshippers. *Paṇis*, *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* are described as *Mṛdhavācaḥ* (of hostile speech) in the *RV*. This indicates the existence of a form of speech current among the prearyans. *Paṇis* are described as *Grathinas* (*RV*, VII. 6.3). Macdonell and Keith fail to make its meaning clear and intelligible (*VI*–I. 471) but Hillebrandt explains it by saying that it refers to a continuous flow of speech which is not understood (*Vedische Mytholygie.* 1.89). Originally Vrātyas appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as orthodox aryans, but did not follow their discipline and habits. Sāyaṇa perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the Vrātya in the *AV* and he pointed out that the description did not apply to all vrātyas but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy Vrātya, who was not in the good book of the Brāhmaṇas that were soley devoted to their own rites and sacrifices (*KSS*–*XXII*. 4.1–28; *ASS* XXII. 5.4–14; *PGS* II ·5). Avanti, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣhināpatha, Upavṛh, Sindhu and Sauvira were the places where the people of mixed origin resided (*BDS*–1.1.31)[55a].

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[52] *Ibid*—Cf A. C. Haddon—"*The Races of Man*—PP. 60–61. "It seems that these bracycephals are the result of an unrecorded migration of some members of the Alpine race from the highlands of south west Asia in pre-historic times."

[53] Chanda—*op. Cit.*—48; Cf. P. 40 there is a great similarity between Alpine brachycephals and Mongolian brachycephals (Reicher).

[54] R. Shamshastry—*Evolution of Indian Polity*—P.151.

[55] Bharatas called opposite camp persons of 'unintelligible speech.' Cf. A. P. Karmārkar—*The Religion of India*—Vol. I. P. 7—"The Bharata war gave a crushing blow to many of the Vrātya Royal families".

We have seen above that the Aryans, proceeding to India, appear anthropologically to have been brown delicocephalis, represented the Asuras. Both the aryans and the asuras are said to have come from outside. Varuṇa[56], who knows the way of ship on the sea, has been described as asura and same is the case with Indra. That, the consciousness of having sprung from the different races was still there, is borne out by the Vrātyastoma in the *PB*. It is apparent that they were not Brāhmnical in cul-

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[55a] For details—

ASV. G. S. 1.19.5–7; *BGS*. III. 13. 5–6. *ADS* 1.1.1.22; *Vasiṣṭha* XI. 71–75; Manu II. 38–39; *Yājñvalkya*–1.38.

[56] A. Banerji-Śāstri—*Asura India*–P. 14, Cf–*Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume of the Indian Historical Research Institute* (Indica 1953) P. 207–Where D. D. Kosambi says—"Indra too is an intruder upon the Indian scene"; for Indra Vrtra legend, see L. Renou—*Vrtraet Vrthragana*. In the eastern valleys the political condition showed a reversion to the imperial conditions which had made Varuṇa into an Asura and a Samrāṭa. Cf. Ghose *op. cit.* 56.

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ture[57]. It seems that the *Dāsas*, *Dasyus* or *Asuras*, described in the Vedic literature, included amongst them the indigenous Vrātyas or the proto-Dravidians, the negroite and the austric races who had immigrated into India later on. These proto-Indians spoke a language different from the aryans. The word *'Grathiña'* refers to early composition (*grath*) of the Paṇis, probably belonging to the Vrātya tribe. The Yajurveda preserves seven *āsuri* metres, *viz–Gāyatri*, *Āsuri*. *uṣnihāsuri*, *Paṅkati* *āsuri* etc. (Cf– Weber–*White Yajurveda* 1.Lx). The Asura comprised specific groups such as *Yakṣa*, *Gandharva*, *Pannaga* and *Rakṣa* (*MBH*– III. 173, 1220, 1206). Asura is regarded as the offspring of *Diti* and this points to the matriarchical form of society.

The *AV* represents the asura in the Madhyadeśa from the east of Saraswati to the confines of Magadha. Magadha and Aṅga were still alien and unsympathetic territories to be treated as hostile. The asuras had established contact with Magadha. It was in the early vedic period that the asuras lost to the aryans and pushed farther east into Magadha, where they are said to have come to the end of their wandering, at least for the time being[58]. Asura–Vrātya–Rājanya are taken as immigrants[59]. Asura stands in contrast to the āryas on the one hand and Śūdra on the other.[60] Through the Vrātya rites, the admission of these asura easterners of Bengal, Bihar and Assam (Magadha) was possible.[61] The Vrātyas were first differentiated from the rest long after the *Bhṛgu–Jāmdagni* group was established and the *Vedas* fully developed. Prof. Kośāmbi observes[62] "In the Rigvedic age, the term Vrātya could not have been used to distinguish extra-vedic aryans because all aryans then were wanderers while the development of the vedas itself reflects the rise of settlements. The Vrātya tribes do not need the Vedas simply because they continue to wander eastwards, into territory without a great civilisation comparable with that of the Indus valley."

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[57] *PB*–XVII. 1. 9. According to Banerjee Śāstrī, they represented Asura element (P. 53-*N*).

[58] Banerjee–Śāstrī–*Op. Cit* PP. 68–71.

[59] Ghose—*Op. Cit*. 97–98 *fn*. Cf. P. 36 where he identifies Ekvrātya with Pṛthu-Vainya of the *Purāṇas*.

[60] *SB*—XIII, 8, 1, 2.

[61] *Ibid*—V. 3, 3, 2; Cf. *Asura India*–P. 96. The Nāgas were the spearheads and backbone of asura people in India. With the downfall of the Nāgas, ended the asura supremacy in India.

Here, again, we have to bear in mind that the *Bhṛgus* were the foremost among the *Atharvans*. In the *Rigveda*, they were the priests of the *Druhyus*[63] who were related to *Asura-Purus*[64] and fought *Ārya-Tṛtsu Bharatas*.[65] The *Bhṛgus* appear as historical people in the Rigveda and are associated with the *Druhyus* who were killed in the battle against Sudāsa. In the *Vedas*, a Brāhmaṇa was made not born. He, who knew *Sarbavidyā*, was called Brāhmaṇa. *Bhṛgus* were admitted as Brāhmaṇas and thereby the racial *cum* cultural amalgamation was perfected. The *Bhṛgus* had no animal *totem* to explain their ancestor[66]. In the *Mahābhārata, the Bhṛgu-Aṅgirāsa* assimilation is perfect. The *AV* is ascribed to *Bhṛgu-Aṅgirāsa*,

The centre of civilisation lay in the east. The migratory movements eastward continued between 1151 and 326 B.C; and the seceders from the main section generally came to the east. We have no evidence, at all, to show that the *Sukla āryas* ever even entered the country lying immediately east of the Indus. Within the period, suggested above, the aryans spread over a vast area of transformed culture, stretching from *Usināra*

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[62] *JBBRAS*—XXVI (1950) P. 42.

[63] *RV*. VIII. 3. 9; 6, 18; 102, 4.

[64] *SB*. VII. 8.4.

[65] *RV*. VI. 48.8; VII. 18.

[66] Considerable number of *gotra* names are animal *totems—e. g. Kauśika* = owl; *Kāśyapa* = Tortoise; *Bhāradvāja* = Skylark; *Gotama* = best bull.

(trenching on the Vālhikas) in the north west to *Videha* in the east. Madhyadeśa ("between 800 and 500 B. C.) remained the centre of orthodox culture and beyond that extended a vast-outer circle of all the Vrātyas. When the migration began, the *Tṛtsus* (Sudāśā's original subjects) were the first to depart, for by then, the *Dasyus* had successfully undermined their position. The entire host of '*five races*' (*Purus, Yadus, Turvasas, Anus, Druhyus*) followed by the *Dasyu-Kṛivis* at the head of a powerful Bharat coalition settled down at various centres in the *Doab* and the Gangetic valley and thereupon the drama of subsequent history was enacted[67]. The *Dasyus* erected the mselves into a cult which was transformed into an exclusive and highly privileged state heirarchy, the members of which called themselves Brāhmaṇas[68]. From all these, it appears that there had been immigrations in Magadha from various sources much before the advent of the aryans. Homeless state was common in the east[69]. The orthodox school refers to the barbarism in speech which was to be avoided[70]. The barbaric speech was probably characteristic of the Vrātyas who are described[71] as speaking the language of the initiated though they do so with difficulty. It appears that the *Prakrītic* form of speech developed out of the Vrātya culture,

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We have seen above that eastern India was the centre of

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[67] *JDL*—IV. H. Bruce Hannah's article "*Indo-aryan ethnic origin*".

[68] *Ibid*—VIII. 271.

[69] J. N. Sammaddar—"*Glories of Magadha*" P. 13.

[70] *SB*—III. 2, 1, 23.24.

[71] *PB*—XVII. 1.9 "They differed from *Tṛtsu–Bharatas* in not being Brāhmnical in culture and in differing in speech (*adurukta*)". The authors of the *VI* treat them as non–Brāhmanical aryans but that seems to be confusing.

Magadha–the Centre of Vrātya Culture

all heretical cults and the centre of Vrātya Culture. In the *Mahābharāta*, the eastern tribes of Aṅga-Vaṅga, Magadha, and Puṇdra play an important part. The *Sūtas* and the *Māgadhas* belong to the east. The man of Magadha stands definitely connected with the nomadic Vrātyas, having weird dress, appearance and speech, rites and ceremonies[72]. The earliest mention of Magadha in found in the *AV* (V. 22-14) wherein it is indicated that Magadha was inhabited by the people of low reputation. Later Vedic texts disclose a clear antipathy to the people of Magadha. *Kikaṭas* were a non-aryan tribe living in Magadha in the Rigvedic period.[73] Whether Magadha existed during the Rigvedic period or not, we are not definite but it is believed that the Magadhan kingdom must have existed round the middle of the third millenium B. C. as a powerful Dravidian *Makdam* (powerful Kingdom). Sumerian documents mention Magan. Heras holds that king Magan was *Mannu-dannu* and he identifies this king with Pramaganda of Kikatas[74]. The theory of the origin of the Magadhas from the Magas of Persia is held by many. The *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* mentions that Magas were introduced into

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[72] *CHI*–I. 123; *LSS*–VIII. 6.28; *KSS*–XXII. 4.22, the meaning of the expression–द्रामनी द्वे द्वे is not yet clear. Cf. J. W. Hauer –*Der Vrātya* PP. 6, 7, 96, 97, 143.

[73] *RV*–III. 53. 14; for *Kikaṭa,* also consult and compare from *Padmap*. 20.45; 11.66 (*Sṛṣtikhaṇḍa;* identified with Gayā); *Garuḍap* 56.3; 81.1; 8.25; *Nārdiya*–47.14; *Devibhāgwata*. 13.20 (Kikaṭa is unholy); 11.6.22 (Vindhyaparvata is in Kikaṭa); *Kalkip*. 3.14.27 (Kikaṭa is a country); *Skandap*. 98.68; *Bhāgp*. 11.21.8 *Naiṣadacharitaṁ* 12.88; *Medinikoṣa*. 37; *MBH* (Karṇap.) V. 19; *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*–960.; Rāhul Sāṇkṛtyāyana's views have been given above.

[74] H. Heras—"*The Kingdom of Magan*" (B. C. Law Commemoration Volume).

India by Śāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa[75]. The Rigvedic aryans hated the Magadhanas and placed a ban on the country because they could not bring them to their mode of living. The sage, Sutantara, had in mind these Vrātyas, when he said that those who had given up the worship of *Agni* were unhappy[76]. Dr. S. C. Sarkar[77] takes Vrātyas to be the easterners and *"non-Ailas"* (non-aryans) and, following Winternitz, he says—"Vrātyas were neither wandering Sādhus, nor Śaiva mendicants, but certain tribes, living outside the pale of Brāhmanism". The Vrātya was synonymous with a Magadhan. The Vrātya occupied Magadha or the *Prāchya* was an area assigned by tradition to a stock different from the *Mānavas* and *Ailas*.[78]

In the Buddhist sources, we find Magadha as a country of the residence of a tribe of *Khattiya* called *Magadhā*[79]. According to Buddhaghosh, there were many fanciful explanations of the word '*Magadha*[80]'. The *Magadhabhāṣā* was regarded as the speech of the *Ariyans*[81], spread all over *Niraya,* among lower animals, *petas,* human and *Devas*[82]. The people of Aṅga and Magadha were in the habit of holding a great annual sacrifice to *Mahābrahmā* in which a fire was kindled with sixty cartload of firewoods. They held the view[83] that it would bring a thousandfold reward. It was a sacred place for the Buddhists. In this connection it may be pointed out here that the noblest truths, aims and ways are indicated by the adjective *ārya* in the Buddhist scriptures. The new religion, founded by the Buddha looked to that branch of non-orthodox tradition, which was not penetrated by the Brāhmaṇas, inspite of Atharvaveda's *Vrātyakāṇḍaṁ*.

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[75] *PIHC.* V–*"Origin of Magadha"* by L. B. Keny; Cf -*MASI*–41 *"Vrātya and Yati"* by R. P. Chanda.

[76] *JBORS*—XXIV–Pt. 3 PP. 107–8.

[77] S. C. Sarkar '*Some aspects of social history*'. Cf. *ML*–P. 2ff. H. P. Śāstrī regards the conclussion of Father Heras as ridiculous.

[78] S. C. Sarkar–*Op. Cit.* PP. 41, 46.

[79] G. P. Malalasekhar—*Dictionary of Pāli proper names* PP. 403–4.

[80] *Suttanipāta Comm.* I. 135 ff.

[81] *Samantopāsādikā* (4 vols. *PTS*) I. 255.

[82] *Sammohana–Vinodini* (*PTS*) 387 ff.

[83] *Sāmantopāsādikā* 1.269.

From the term *'Brahmabaṅdhu'* applied to the Magadhan Brāhmaṇas, who associated themselves with Vrātya ceremonies, we can see how the Vrātyas were distinguished. The great Vrātya tribe is that of the Lichchavis, mentioned with respect by the Jainas and the early Buddhists, who maintained their social position down to the Gupta period (C. 320 A. D.). Manu calls the Lichchavis *Vrātya-kṣhatriyas*[84]. They were known to the Buddhists as *Vajjis* or wanderers. Patañjali, on Pāṇini (5. 2. 21), has shown that any tribal organisation outside the Brāhmaṇical ritual could be called Vrātya. Śarabha is called *Ṛṣibaṅdhu* without the forceful contempt that goes with *Brahmabaṅdhu*. The Vrātya *Gṛhapati* was probably the tribal chief with usual priestly functions. If we accept the derivation of Vrātya from *Vrāta* (as done by Patañjali), it would not be unfair to equate them (the Vrātyas) with the *Vajjis* of eastern India. By the time of the *Vajjis*, the wandering habits had come to an end though they maintained a good deal of tribal element like the supreme power in oligarchic assembly. Since the Mallas and the Lichchavis had oligarchical constitution with a nomadic past, they were termed as Vrātyas by Manu and accepted by others as such. The *Mahāparinivvānnasutta* is specific on the point that the Buddhist Saṁgha was derived from the Lichchavis. Buddha succeeded in making the surviving free tribes of his time the model for his *Saṁgha* to be illusory substitutes for what was being systematically annihilated in reality. 'The *Saṁgha* represented the ideal substitute far the vanished realities.' The *tented nomads* (or the third caste) of Megasthenes were probably the surviving Vrātya tribes comingling with the contemporary society.

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[84] *Manusmṛti*–X. 20, 21, 22, 23; II. 39, 40; XI. 62. B. C Law is of opinion that Manu's theory about the Lichchavis is unwarranted. Cf–*Tribes in Ancient India*–P. 301. S. C. Vidyābhusan says "Lichchavis were of persian origin... ...some of his (Darius's) persian subjects in Nisibis (off Herat) (identified by him with *Nichvi* of Manu) immigrated to India and having found the Punjāb over-populated by the orthodox Brāhmins came down as far as Magadha which was at that time largely inhabited by the Vrātyas." *IA*–XXXVII (1907) P. 79; Cf. R. C. Majumdar—*Corporate Life in ancient India*—P. 316–18 (about the *Saṁgha*); R. K. Choudhary–सिद्धार्थं; *History of Bihar;*

The Vrātyas had no Brāhmanical discipline but after some time they developed their own institutions, *e. g.*, the Śākyas and the Mallas in northern Oudh, Lichchavis and Videhas in north Bihār, Aṅgas in the east, Kāsī on the west and Bārhadarathas in the centre. The early Vrātyas might have formed only one class but we find that, later on, they were divided as Vrātya Brāhmaṇa, Vrātya Kṣhatriya, and Vrātya Vaiśya' By the time of Manu, they seem to have been mixed up with different elements[85].

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[85] Manu–X. 20—द्विजातयः सुवर्णासु जनयन्नव्रतांस्तुयान् ।
तान्सावित्रीपरिभ्रष्टान् व्रात्यानिति विनिर्दिशेत ॥
X. 21—व्रात्यातु जायते विप्रात्पापात्मा भूज्र्कण्टकः ।
आवन्त्य वाटधानोच पुष्पंयः शैख एव चः ॥
X. 22—झल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद व्रात्यान्निच्छिविरेवच ।
नटश्च करणश्चैव खसौ द्रविड एव च ॥
X. 23—वैश्या तु जायते वात्यास्तुधन्वाचार्य एव च ।
कारुषश्च विजन्मा च मैत्रः सात्वत एव च ॥
II. 39—अतः ऊर्ध्वं त्रयोऽप्येते यथाकालम संस्कृताः ।
सावित्री पतिता व्रात्या भवन्त्यार्य विगर्हिताः ॥

Also Cf—"*The Smṛtis and their outlooks and ideals*" by T: Venkatramanśāstrī in the *Cultural Heritage of India*–Vol I (old Edition)

Cf—Kautilya—सवर्णासु च एषाम् (वर्णेषाम्) अचरितव्रतेभ्योजाता व्रात्याइति अनुलोमाः ; *also BDS* 1.8, 16, 16.

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1. Vrātya Brāhmaṇa produces—
   - (a) Bhurjakaṇṭaka (abode not known)[86].
   - (b) Avantya (Living in the south-west).
   - (c) Vāṭadhana (Living in the north-west).
   - (d) Pushpagudha
   - (e) Śaikha

   (Abode not known) Buhler calls them spies and sorcerers.
2. Vrātyakṣhatriya produces—
   - (a) Naṭa[87]
   - (b) Karaṇa[88]
   - (c) Khasa[89]
   - (d) Dravida[90]

   Also Jhalla, Malla & the Lichchavi[91].
3. Vrātya Vaiśya produces—
   - (a) Sudhanvāchārya
   - (b) Kārush[92]
   - (c) Vijanmā
   - (d) Maitra
   - (e) Satvata

   We have no definite knowledge about their abode or occupation. Buhler holds that all these names denoted nations.

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86. *Der Vrātya*—P. 224 ff; Cf. *SBE*—XXV. 406
Cf. Yādavaprakāśa—*Vaijayanti*—व्रात्याक्षत्रसुताश शत्रुकोशमंत्रादिवेदिनः
(Cf. Kautilya, Bk. 1, 11.12; XII. 2.)

87 and 88. *Der Vrātya* P. 225.
"Die Naṭa und Karaṇa, die Tänzer und Gehilfen, treiben nach Govindarāja, der sich auf Uśanas beruft, als Gewerbe spionage (चारवृतित्व). Wirerinnern uns hier an die liste der Ketzer. aus Maitrāyāṇa up. VII. 8-10, wo unter den heiligen-'Personen Wahrsager, Tänzer, Gemietete, im Fürstendienst Erniedrigte auftreten, ganz wie hier, wo Tänzer und Gehilfen spionierend als Vrātya umherziehen.

89-90. *Ibid*—226......gewisse Völkerreste der khasa and Draviḍa im Nordindiem die genannten Funktionen ausgeület Zu haben ....so wie etwa der Barde also Māgadha Zur Kaste gestemplet wurde.

91. Cf. V. A. Smith—*Early History of India*^{4}—33, 295 ff; *WZKM*—25, 358; *SBE* XXII, XI, 226; *Mahāvagga*—VI, 30, 31.

92. Kārusha is the name of a country between Kośala and Videha —Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 71.

Āchāryas are still the temple priests to the lower orders of Hindus in Nepāl. We learn from the *Vaijayanti* that the Lichchavis were Vrātya Kṣhatriyas. It was probably on account of the *Kṣhatrabāndhavas* or the Vrātya Sisunāgas that Magadha began the imperial tradition. In the east, originally the country of the Vrātyas, *Saman* was held in great reverence and the *Sāmavedinas* were more influential. The deities, mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra,* are not all vedic. It is strange that inspite of its being a despised place, Magadha was the home and settlement of Ṛṣis like *Chyavana, Dadhichi* and *Vatsa.* Śāstri thinks that they most probably belonged to the converted Vrātyas[93]. The Vātsayanas, in the *Matsyapurāṇa,* were closely allied to Kauśitaka who was undoubtedly a Vrātya.

The term "Magadhas" is decidedly a *Jana* or a tribe[94]. Magadha is identified with the Vrātya[95] The Magadhas in the *AV* (V. 22. 14) denoted a tribe, not friendly to the Vedic Aryans. The Magadhas were neither Brāhmaṇas nor Śūdras[96] and they are to be sacrificed in the *Puruṣamedha* to God *Atikruṣṭha* (Loudnoise)[97]. Māgadha is said to be a friend (*Mitra*) of the Vrātya. Vrātyas and Māgadhas are thus intimately connected. Kauśitaki had a close connection with Magadha[98]. According to the *PB,*[99] Kauśitaka, son of Śamasravaḥ, was a *Gṛhapati* of the Vrātya. He was an old Vrātya who lost his virility. He performed the Vrātyastoma with others, but there was some defect in the arrangement of the stomas, and so Luśākapi, son of Kharagala, cursed him by saying that Kauśitakis will not prosper. According to Śāyaṇa, Kauśitaka was the seer of one of the *Śākhās* of *Rigveda*. Another *Gṛhapati*, known to us, is Dyutāna, the worshipper of the Marutas.

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[93] *ML*–P. 75; Cf *CHI*–I. 124—"......some at least of the Vrātyas were considered to be dwellers in Magadha."–; Cf. *Der-Vrātya* 122–23.

[94] *BDS*–1.2.13; *BSS*–20.13; *ASS*–22.6.18; *HSS*–17.6 *ZDMG*–56.553.

[95] *AV*–XV. 2.14.

[96] *VS*–XXX. 22.

[97] *Ibid* XXX. 5.22.

[98] *KA*–VII. 13.

[99] *PB*–XVII. 4.3 and *Commentary*.

Eastern India was the principal resort of the heretical Vrātyas. Lāṭyāyaṇa says that the *Vipatha* or the rough cart is the '*prāchyāratha*' or eastern chariot. On this authority, we can assume that even the vehicle of the vrātya was associated with the east and hence their association with Magadha, in no way, can be rejected. Sisunāgas are called *Kṣhatrabandhu* in the *Purāṇas* and it signifies[100] that they were Vrātyas. Their dress conforms to one prescribed for the Vrātyas in the *Śrautasūtras*. The Indo-aryan culture is itself a synthetic product and some of its attributes have been ascribed to the Vrātyas of Magadha. In some quarters it has rightly been held that the *upanishadas* and the *Purāṇas* were either produced in the Vrātya region *or* have been greatly influenced by the Vrātya sources. The synthesis was, nodoubt, brought about in Magadha. Even the *Atharvaveda* is said to have originated in the Vrātya land of Magadha and we find therein a reference to malarial fever. It was after a good deal of struggle that the *AV* came to be recognised as a fourth Veda[101].

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[100] See Discussion in the following pages.

[101] Atharvaveda is called after particular priest—

(a) *Atharvanaṅgirāsaḥ*—*TB*. III. 12, 9.1; *PB* XVI. 10.10; *SB*-XVI. 10.10.

(b) *Bhṛguaṅgiṛāsaḥ*—*Kauśika* 63.3; 94.2–4; 137, 25; 139, 6; *Gopatha B*. 1.1.39; 2.18; 3.1.2.4; *AV*–V.. 19.1, 2.

(c) *Kṣtraveda*—*SB*. XIV. 8–14, 1–4; *Brh. Upn V*. 18.1–4; *Praśnopnishada*—11.6.

(d) *Brahmaveda*—*SGS*–1.16, 3.

While Atharvana designates sacerdotal occupation, Aṅgirasa is the name of a family. In the *Rẻgveda*, the Aṅgirasas are referred as a group in their collectivity, livīng collective life of pre-class society (*RV*—X. 62).

The intellectual pre-eminence of the Vrātyas is exhibited in their taste for theosophic and cosmogonic speculations, and in many respects they seem to be intellectually superior. According to the *Udyogaparva* (108, 13) Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha was born and met his death in eastern India. The *Kalpasūtras* tend to show that the Vrātyas were a respected personage withal differing from the followers of the orthodox Vedic church. The Vrātyas seem to have belonged to Magadha though they might have moved in all directions. They had unlimited scope for expansion in the east, as in the north they were bounded by the Himālayas and in the south by the Vindhyas. The available materials at our disposal enable us to state that Magadha was the cradle of the Vrātya culture. They played an important part in the cultural history of eastern India as the following pages would show.

* * *

CHAPTER III

THE CULT OF THE VRĀTYAS

I

The Cult of the Vrātyas

Since the Vrātyas represented a definite cultural milieu of eastern India with Magadha as the centre, they also developed an independent cult of their own which is marked by its individuality and sobriety of expression. A study of their cult is bound to throw a flood of light on the contemporary religious-cum-cultural trend. Their system was no doubt unique. It is fully represented in the *Atharvaveda* and later literature. D. R. Bhandārkar has tried to prove its connection with the Indus civilisation. Indications to the existence of pre-aryan cults in the *Ṛgveda* are not lacking. Besides a reference to the *Śiṣśṇna-devāḥ*, we get references to three more gods, *viz.*, *Yātudhāna* (Pumāna), the female (*Strī*) and *Mūradevas* with bent necks (probably *kārttikeya* of the proto-Indians ?). This *triad* probably refers to the divine *triad* of the *Vrātyas* or the pre-aryans. The fire sacrifice was not known to the pre-aryans. It was introduced by the aryans. From the *Kauśitaki Upanishad* (II.5) we learn that the ancients did not perform the *Agnihotra*, a Ṛgvedic sacrifice daily performed by the Brāhmaṇas before sunrise. Possibly the pre-aryans did not even know its name[1]. The Vrātyas had no such cult of fire sacrifice as will be evident from their system. The Vrātyas had a cult decidedly different from the orthodox aryans.

In the *AV* (*XV* 1.1)[2], we find the Vrātya as the benefactor of human society or as one who does good to a large number of people. Sampūrṇānanda has identified the Vrātya with

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[1] Heras, *The Origin of Indian philosophy and ascetism.*

[2] *AV*. XV. 1. 1. व्रात्य आसीदीयमान एव स प्रजापति समैरयत्

"*Parmātmā*" [3]. The most scientific explanation of the above *Sūkta* seems to be that the Vrātyas, as benefactors, moved and preached in all directions. The Vrātyas are associated with the *Rudra-Śiva* cult. In the intervening period between the time of the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, the eight *mūrtis* of Śiva assumed a complete form. In the *AV*[4], we find eight *mūrtis* of Śiva except Bhīma. According to R. G. Bhandārkar[5], the gods made *Bhava*, the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas or outcastes, in the intermediate space of eastern regions, Śarva of the southern region, Paśupati of the western region, Rudra of the lower region, Mahādeva of the upper region and Iśāna of all the intermediate regions. The Vrātya induced the creator to look within himself and he saw '*Suvarṇa*' or brilliance. That brilliance increased and grew up and it became Iśāna, it became Mahādeva, it became *Ekvrātya* or the totality of Vrātya community[6].

The *Ekvrātya* has been considered as the supreme being of the Universe. The *Ekvrātya* became Mahādeva; gained the lordship of gods and became the chief Vrātya. He roused Prajāpati to action. His belly is dark-blue and his back is red. " With dark-blue he envelopes a detested rival, with red he pierces the man who hates him, so the theologians say."[7] The conception of Mahādeva is definitely a pre-aryan mythology. We have a reference to Śiva in the Indus valley civilisation as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe.[8] Śiva has also been called the god of nomad Vrātya or spirit of Vrātya. R. Kimura holds that the Vrātyas or the outlandish aryans took the *mūrtis* of Śiva and engrafted them on their god in order to heighten his glory[9]. He is of opinion that since the Vrātyas fought against the Vedic aryans, they took Śiva as their leader. Śiva is said to belong to the Niṣādas and also connected with Vrātya. Śiva, though a pre-aryan god, finds indirect mention in the Vedas in the shape of Rudra. More important is the close association of Aśura with Rudra or Śiva[10]. It is clearly distinguishable from the rest of aryan gods. Rudra is a foremost physician[11]. His medical virtues are connected with water. When Prajāpati committed incest with his daughter, Rudra, as *Bhūtapati*, tore him to pieces. He is a higher personage than Viṣṇu, The memory of the earliest epoch survives in Śiva as one of the post-Vedic *trinity*-itself an outcome of an amalgam of contending forces[12].

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[3] *Vrātya kāṇḍam*–P. 2

[4] *AV*. XV. 5. 1–7 (Whitney's translation–*HOS–VIII*)

[5] *Śaivism–Vaiṣṇavism etc.*–P. 105

[6] *JASB*–XVII. 22; cf *HOS*-VIII. 778-79; Griffith, op. cit 189-90.

[7] *AV*. XV. 1. Cf. 27th. *Sūkta* of the 18th. khaṇḍa of the *AV* (Paipoalapāda recension); *HOS*–VIII. 773; Sampūrṇānanda– op. cit. p. 6.
एक व्रात्योऽभवद् । स धनुरा(द)त्त । (त) द इन्द्र धनुरभंवत् ॥६॥
नीलमस्योदरं लोहितमस्य पृष्ठम् ॥७॥

[8] Heras–*Religions of the Mohenjodaro people according to inscriptions*– JBU–V–Pt.1.PP1–29.

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[9] R. Kimura—*A Historical Study of the terms of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna*—P. 32.

[10] *RV*. V. 42. 11.

[11] *Ibid*—11. 83, 4.

[12] Banerji-Śastri—*op. cit*, P. 15.

Der Vrātya—P. 297 ff. ; P. 306 for *Ekvrātya*. Hauer says— " In dem angezogenen—Text erschient er offensichtlitch als der oberste der himmlischen Vrātya, der seine einzige würde den anderen gegenüber eifersüchtig hütet... Der Ekvrātya ist folgolich nicht die einfache Vergöttlichung eines obersten Vrātya ... ... (P. 306).

P. 308—"Und dass dieser Ekvrātya kein anderer ist als Rudra-Mahādeva, der Grossgott der nicht-orthodoxen Religiosität, beweist der feierliche Hymnus auf den ur-Vrātya AV. XV. 1."

P. 314—"Es scheint, dass in der Religion der Vrātya Kult des Ekvrātya eine ganz zentrale stelle einnhm und dass hier vor allem die Ineinsset—Zung von göttlicher Urmacht mit,, dem Urscher Vorgenommen worden War.

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Rudra is essentially a mountain deity, wearing braided hair, whose colour is brown and red. He is clothed in skin. He is an archer, fierce, destructive like a terrible beast, a malevolent destroyer. In Rudra, there have combined the forms of different but kindred gods. A reference to the cult of Rudra by the Vrātya has been seen as the explanation of the curious Vrātya – hymn of the *AV*. and of the ceremonies which are used for the introduction into the Vedic religion of the non-Brāhmanical aryans[13]. Charpentier believed that the Vrātyas were adherents of Rudra–Śiva[14] and they seem to have been the worshippers of Śiva[15]. The chief gods of the Vrātyas were Rudra, Īśāna and Mahādeva, who formed the trinity and were only the various manifestations of the Ekvrātya. The conception of the Ekvrātya suggests that the Vrātyas were *Ekeśvaravādins*. Hauer is of opinion that the Vrātyas were definitely more prominent in their days than their aryan counterpart. He further believes that the Brāhmaṇa

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13. *HOS–XXXI*. 147; The *Bṛhaddevatā* (of Śaunaka) preserves the following hymns about Rudra–
BD. *1. 103*–ततस्तु मध्यमस्थाना देवतास्तत्त्वनुशंसति
रूद्रंच मरुतश्चैव स्तोत्रियेग्निमिमे पुनः ॥१०३॥
122–इन्द्राश्रयस्तु पर्जन्यो रूद्रो वायुर्बृहस्पतिः
वरुणः कश्च मृत्युश्च देवश्च ब्रह्मण स्पातिः ॥१२२।
127–विश्वानरश्च वै देवो रूद्राणां संस्तुतो गणः
मरुतोऽङ्गिरसश्चैव पितरश्च भृुभिः सहः ।
V. 7–आरुद्रास इति त्वस्यां रूद्राणां संस्तुतो गणः
मरुतां तु गणस्यैतन् नाम रूद्रा इति स्मृताः
VIII. 129 ऋभवः पर्जन्यः पर्व नागाश्च दक्षोभगो देवपत्नीर्दिशच्च
आदित्या=रूद्राः पितरोऽथ साध्या निपातिनो वैश्वदेवेषु सर्वे ।

14. For Rudra—Cf. *AV*—XI. 2.1, 3, 7, 11, 13, 14; 18.21–23; XI. 6.9; XVIII. 1.40; XIX. 10.6; 56.5; XX, 135.9; XIX. 18.3; 11.4; 9.11.

15. Śrikaṇṭha Śāstri–*Proto–Indic Religion*, PP. 7–9; 88–90. He believes that the Vrātyas belonged to the Vaiśya class. This theory is his own figment of imagination.

record keepers have intentionally destroyed the sources of Vrātya history[16]. The followers of the Rudra cult were generally regarded irreligious in those days and that is why the Vrātyas have been called irreligious. The Ekvrātya seems to imbibe all the chief characteristics of Rudra.

The Atharvān hymns suggest the presence of a Śiva cult among the Vrātyas and certainly a cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. S. K. Chatterjee holds that the extravagant respect paid to the Vrātya in these poems *either* shows the hands of the followers of the Vrātya cult themselves *or* they are the works of the Vedic aryans who felt fascinated by the Vrātyas with their non-midland practices, and perhaps by their wild mysticism, for the *AV* hymns are highly mystic in this connection[17]. At another place, he says: "This (the *Paurāṇika tradition*) was later on aryanised" (*Indo-Aryan and Hindi*–P. 52). Charpentier sees in them the precursor of the Śaivites of to-day[18]. Rudra is the protector of Vrātya in all quarters. The Rudra–Śiva had a close connection with the Vrātya[19] and also with the strugglers in the forest. D. R. Bhandarkar believes that the Ekvrātya later on developed into Śiva[20]. The Ekvrātya was infused with a serenity and loftiness that is unparalleled in our religion. *Pumścalī* or harlot, associated with the Ekvrātya, was replaced by Śraddhā or faith. *Mūgadha* (magi priest?) was substituted by *Mitra*. Knowledge became his garments, day and night his cap and hair, and Mātariśvā and Pavamāna were connected with him as the horses of his chariots. He became a great *Tapasvī* and practised penance for one year and as a result thereof, the Śaiva system underwent a complete metamorphosis.[21]

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[16] *BA*—P. 13; *JB*—2.222; *Jaim. upn.* 3.21 *Praśnopanishad*—II.11.
Cf. Laksmaṇa Śāstri Joshi—*Vaidika Sanskriti Kā Vikāsa*", P. 149.
मैत्रायणीय् संहिता के मत में रुद्र ही पुरुषसूक्त के वर्ण्य पुरुष देवता हैं।
मैत्रायणी संहिता की इस कल्पना को शांखायन ब्राह्मण से पुष्टि मिलती है। वहाँ रूद्र की उत्पति बतलाते हुये कहा गया है कि "सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात" जैसे महान् देवता उत्थान हुआ--नामकरण में भव सर्व, पशुपति, उग्रदेव, महादेव, रूदा, ईशान तथा अशनि ये आठनाम माँग लिये गये। कुमार रूद्र का नवाँ नाम आया है। वृषभ् तथा सर्प से रूद्र का जो सम्बन्ध है वह पुराणों में वर्णित है।
देखिए—मैत्रायणी संहिता—२. ९. २—
"महादेवं सहस्राक्षं शिवमावाह्याम्यहम्"

[17] –S.K. Chatterjee–*Origin and Development of Bengāli Language*–I. 47.
Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected works*, IV., 149.

[18] *JRAS* (1913), P. 155

[19] Bhandarkar, *Collected works*, IV. 147–76

[20] *SAIC*, PP. 40–48

Vedic Rudra has few common characteristics of Śiva[22]. The process of assimilation probably began at the end of the Ṛgvedic period. It seems that a successful attempt was made during the period of the *Śatarudriya* whose evidence is important in connection with the study of the Rudra cult[23]. The *Śatarudriya* is taken to be a non-aryan document wherein an attempt has been made to aryanise Śiva. It refers to two different qualities of Rudra – fierce and benign. Rudra is also called Śiva. In the *AV*, Rudra has a higher status. *Bhava* and *Sarva* are called *Bhūtapati* (Lord of spirits) and lord of beasts respectively[24]. Kine, horse, goat, men and sheep are marked off as belonging to Paśupati[25]. To Ugra, the fierce, belong the four intermediate quarters, the sky, the earth and the wide atmosphere, and that which has the spirit and breathes on the earth[26]. Bhava is addressed as Rājan.[27] Other names of Rudra are Sadāśiva, Īśāna, Mahādeva and Paśupati etc. We have the following manifestations of the *Ekvrātya* in the *AV* (*HOS*) - *XV. V.*

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[21] विद्युतं पुंश्चली स्तानायेत्नुर्मागधो विज्ञानं वासोऽहरुष्णीषं रात्रीकेशा हरितौ प्रवर्तौ किल्मलिर्मणिः। ...... मातरिश्वा च पवमानश्च विपथवाहौ वातः सारथ रेष्मा प्रतोदः। A slightly different reading of the text has been suggested by Buddhaprakasa in the *ABORI*, XXX. 212. Cf. Der *Vrātyas*, P. 142.

[22] Venkatarammaiyya, *Rudra-Siva*, PP. 27–31. He finds out similarities between *Rudra* & *Asura*

[23] *VS*-chapter–*Śatarudriya* and *Tryambaka*. *Cf. Taitt. Saṁh.*–IV. 5.1. Cf. Lakshmana Joshi, op. cit. P.157–रूद्रदेव वैदिककाल में ही वैदिक तथा अवैदिक दोनो के देवता वन चुके थे। अनार्यों के विविध देवता उन्हीं के विविध रूप हैं। कपर्दी (जयधारी) तथा व्युप्तकेश (जिसकी श्मश्रु की गई है) असभ्य तथा सभ्य अवस्थाओं के देवताओं की ओर संकेत करते हैं–।”

[24] *AV–XI*. 2'1

[25] *Ibid*. *XI*, 2. 9

XV. V. 1—For him, they made the archer Bhava attendant (from the eastern quarter). Griffith says—"Iśāna is one of the older names of Rudra" (*Op. Cit* - P. 189).

XV. V. 2—For him they made the archer Sarva attendant (from the southern quarter).

XV. V. 3—For him they made the archer Paśupati attendant (from the western quarter). (Rudra is also taken as lord of beasts. cf. *Ibid-XI*. 6 9).

XV. V. 4—For him they made the archer the formidable god attendant (from northern quarter). (*Ugraṁ Devaṁ* or the awful god. According to Muir, Rudra is meant here).

XV. V. 5—For him they made the archer Rudra attendant (from the fixed quarter).

XV. V. 6—For him they made the archer Mahādeva attendant (from the upward quarter).

XV. V. 7—For him they made the archer Iśāna attendant (from all intermediate directions).

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[26] *Ibid XI*. 2. 10

[27] *Ibid XI*. 6. 9—In the *Rudra-Sūkta* of the *ṚV*, he has been described as the father of the Marutas. Rudra has also beed called '*Asura*'. (*RV–V*. 42. II). He is also called *Śiva* & *Īśāna* (*ṚV X*. 92.9). He is also termed as '*Ugra* and '*Bhīma*' His fierce character is evident from the following :—

AV–XI. 2. 26—मानो रूद्रतक्मना मा विषेण मा नः संस्रादिव्येनाग्निना । अन्यत्र
स्मद्विद्युतं पातयैताम् ।

SB 9. 1. 1. 1—सऐषोऽत्र रूद्रो देवता तस्मिन् देवा एतदमृतं रूपमुत्तममदधुः
स एषोऽत्र दीप्यमानोऽतिष्ठदन्नमिच्छमानस्तस्माद्देवा अविभयुर्युंद्वै नोऽयं न हिंस्यादिति ।

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There is a reference to a couch and headgear in connection with the Ekvrātya and D. R. Bhandārkar believes that *Uṣṇīṣa* of the Vrātya is the same as those found on the Indus seals[28]. The *AV* refers to an '*Antaradeśa*' from which the Vrātya goes to all directions. The *Ekvrātya* is everywhere. The east gave him *Bhava*, the south *Sarva*, the west *Paśupati*, the north *Ugra*, the *Dhruva* (fixed quarter) *Rudra*, the upper *Mahādeva* and the *Antaradeśa Iśāna*. But their principal resort was the eastern quarter as is evident from the *AV* and the *PB*. With the spread of aryanism, probably more converts from the Vrātyas were brought in and there was a merger between the two. Assuming Śiva as the Ekvrātya of the Vrātya pantheon, we may revert to the Purāṇas for more illustrations. Śiva is said to have passed through the stages of a recognised human existence[29]. Both the *SB* and the *Śatarudriya* describe Śiva as *Kirttivāsas*[30] (wearer of skin garment). Śiva is said to be a bearer of Kapāla (Kapālin of the Purāṇas). He is depicted as a *yogin* and an ascetic. The *Skandapurāṇa* preserves a tradition that there are eleven crores of *Gaṇa* of Śiva[31]. We have a referenee to eleven Rudras. Śiva is represented with eleven armlets on the Indus seals. This number seems to have attained a sanctity of its own and with the amalgamation of the Rudra – Śiva, this sacred number of eleven was ascribed to Rudra. We learn from the *MBH* that Rudra was the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. Rudra had eleven names[32].

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[28] *SAIC*, P. 41 ff.

[29] Monier Williams—*Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism*, P. 78. For *Purāṇic* reference; cf my article, '*Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas*' in the *ABORI* (1957).

[30] *SBE*, XII. 443. Cf. *Amarakoṣa*—"Clad in skin". The *Anuśāsana Parva* and the *Purāṇas* have 1008 names of Śiva.

[31] *Skandapurāṇa* (Kāśīkhaṇḍa) - Adhyāya - 53.

[32] *Śāntiparva* 207.20—*Ajaikapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Virūpākṣa, Raivata, Hara, Bahurūpa, Tryambaka, Sureśvara, Sāvitra, Jayanta, Pināki,* and *Aparājita.* We have a geneology of Śiva in the *Harivaṁśa* (1. 1. 41 ff).

Besides the description of the Ekvrātya, there is also a hymn on *Skaṁbha*, which is rather an enunciation of the doctrine of the *Liṅga*. In this connection the mention of *Puṁścalī* and *Māgadha* with Ekvrātya is important. In consonance with the system of polarisation prevalent among the Vrātyas, the idea of destruction and fertility were brought together in the case of *Liṅga* also[33]. Traditionally *Bāṇaliṅgas* are found in different parts of the world. The *Gaṇḍakī* (a river originating in Nepāl) supplies six varieties of Liṅga stones which are called *Śivanābha*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, and *Iśāna*, of which *Aghora* alone is unfit for worship[34]. Since *Puṁścalī* is included in the list of victims at the *Puruṣamedha*[35], it is held that she belonged to the pre-aryan cult. D. R. Bhandārkar identifies nude images of the Indus Valley with the *Puṁścalī*. We have in the *MBH* a reference to the cult of *Śakti* worship. The expression is like the *Bhagaliṅga*[37], *Māheśvarīprajā*[38], *Mātrikās*[39], and *Bhagadeva*[40] etc. Durgā is said to have her perpetual abode in the Vindhya mountains[41]. The demoness is said to have been worshipped by the Vrātyas. According to the *MBH*, the Vrātyas were spread over a wide

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[33] For details, cf. - Murray - *Religious Thought and life in India*, P. 327; cf. the *Skandapurāṇa* (Avantikhaṇḍa) 1. 1. 32.

Cf *BA*–16–17—विश्व का भ्रमण करने वाला आदि व्रात्य वायु हैं जिस से हम भारतीय *Hermes* या *odin* कह सकते हैं । स्कम्भ के अनुष्ठान की कल्पना इसी नमूने पर हुई है ।

[34] Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of India*, P. 382 ff.

[35] *VS* - XXX. 8.

[36] *SAIC*, P. 42 ff.

[37] *Anuśāsanaparva*, 58.3.

[38] *Ibid*, 45.217.

[39] *Śalyaparva*, 47. 1 ff.

[40] *Āśvamedhikaparva*, 43. 15.

[41] *Virāṭaparva*, 178 ff.

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area and included even the peoples of Valhlikas[41] (a). If this surmise of the *MBH* be accepted, there would be no difficulty in suggesting that they were the originators of the *Śakti* worship. Hauer has shown how close are the parallels between some of the old sacrifices like those of the *Mahāvratas* and many of the ceremonies which repel us in the *Tantra*[42].

The concept of *Linga* is closely associated with the idea of *Skambha*. The *Skambha* is "conceived as co-extensive with the universe and comprehends in him the various parts of the material universe as also the abstract qualities, *tāpas*, faith[43] etc." G. N. Rao suggests that the non-aryan worshippers of Phallus might have based the identity of the *Linga* with *Skambha*[44]. The idea of *Skambha* can be traced to the *Ṛgveda*[45]. *Skambha* has been clearly explained in the *Athar-*

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41. (a) *Karṇaparva*, 45.6–8

तत्र वै ब्राह्मणो भूत्वा ततो भवति क्षत्रियः
वैश्यः शूद्रश्च वाहीकस्ततो भवति नापितः ॥
नापितश्च ततो भूत्वा पुनर्भवति ब्राह्मणः ।
द्विजो भूत्वा च तत्रैव पुनर्दासोऽभिजायते ॥
भवन्त्येककुले विप्राः प्रसृष्टाः कामचारिणः
गान्धारा मद्रकाश्चैव वाहिकाश्चाल्पचेतसः ॥

Śāntiparva, 65.13–14.

यवनाः किराताः गन्धाराश्चीनाः शबर बर्वराः शकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च
पह्लवाश्चान्ध्रमद्रका पौण्ड्रा पुलिन्दा रमठा काम्बोजाश्चैव सर्वशः
ब्राह्मण क्षत्र प्रसूताश्च वैश्य शूद्राश्च मानवाः ॥

For other details—cf. *Anuśāsana*, 38. 22–23; 35.17; *Śāntiparva* 65.18–22; 188.5. *Yājñavalkya*, 101.66; *Manu*, VIII. 413–416; X. 47–52.

42. J. W. Hauer, *Der-Vrātya*, P. 246 ff. "*Die Vrātya* und das *Mahāvrata*" Cf. Payne, '*The Śāktas*', P. 63. The *Mahāvrata* is a part of the ceremony of the *Gavāmayana*.

43. G. N. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II–PL. II–P.105-6.

44. *Ibid*, 56-57.

45. *RV*, IX. 61.16; IX. 74.2; IX. 86-46.

veda[46]. *Skambha* is distinct from Prajāpati. The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him. The gods who form part of him do him homage. It is believed that *Skambha* in the beginning shed forth the gold (*hiranya*) out of which *Hiranyagarbha* arose. The story of the appearance of Śiva as a blazing pillar is to be traced to *Skambha* of the *AV*. By the time of the *Mahābhārata*, *Linga* had come to be regarded as the symbol of Rudra or Mahādeva[47]. Rudra is revealed by his *Linga* (*Svalingāvirbhūta*). Aśvatthāma worshipped the Linga of Rudra in successive ages.

The worship of the *Linga* was an esoteric development of the Rudra cult with a special significance. It is very difficult to say whether the cult of *Linga* had an independent development. In that case it might have been assimilated with Rudra cult later on. The *Bṛhaddevatā* (III.110) preserves a tradition referring to the occurrence of the name *Lingāt*[48]. We can see the emergence of ascetic Rudra through the *Śatarudriya* and Vrātya hymns. The *Śvetāsvataropaniṣad* (IV. 11, V. 2) represents the furthest point in the development of the idea of

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[46] *AV*, X. 7.35—

स्कम्भोदाधार द्यावापृथिवीभेइमे स्कम्भो दाधारोर्वन्तरिक्षम् ।
स्कम्भो दाधार प्रदिशः षडुर्वीः स्कम्भ इदंविश्वंभुवनमाविवेश ।

Brahma has been identified with *Skambha*. Cf. *AV*, 10. 8. 1; 16; *Brahma Śutra*, 2.4.43; *AV*, 10.2.32; 10. 7.38; *Paippalāda Samhitā*, 8.9

One of the functions of the *Skambha* is to beget *Hiranyagarbha* or *Purāṇapuruṣa*, the god of production.

[47] *Auuśāsanaparva*, Chapter 17. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra worship *Linga* of Māheśvara.

[48] *BD*–III.110

ज्ञातुं न शक्यते लिङ्गात् तथापि कञ्चिदुच्यते ।
आदित्या वसवो रूद्रास् त्वमञ्ज इति संस्तुताः ॥

cf J. N. Banerjea—"*The phallic emblem in ancient and medieval India*"—*JISOA* (June–1936).

Rudra - Śiva [49]. The *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* says that *Prakṛti* in the form of putrid corpse approached *Tāmasapuruṣa* *Śiva*, absorbed in meditation in the primal waters. Śiva caught hold of the corpse and seated himself on its breast realising in a moment that the *Devī* in the form of corpse became a *yoni*. After having planted the *Liṅga* in the *Trikoṇamaṇḍala* he dived into the water for creating *Maheśvarīpriyā*. (cf. *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* - Madhyamakhaṇḍa - chapter 1). We get similar description with some variations in the *MBH*. There is a different account in the *Śaurapurāṇa* and that tallies with the account in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

The various incarnations of Śiva are mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (chap. 23), *Liṅgapurāṇa* (chap. 24) ; *Śivapurāṇa* (*Vāyavīya - Saṁhita* II. chap. 10) and in the last chapter of the first part of the *Kūrmapurāṇa*. The *Liṅgapurāṇa* makes in this connection particular mention of *Pāśupata vrata* and declares its superiority to *Sāṁkhya* or the *Pañcharātra* discipline. In the description of the Mahāvrata rite of the *PB* [50] (which is later than the *JB*), we come across a barbaric rite based on animistic views, that an inhabitant of Magadha and a courtesan should copulate. This rite is ordained in the *JB* [51] but it does not occur in the *PB*. *SSS* [52] points out that the practice of this kind is obsolete. In the *PB*, we note a certain inconsistency. Where the *JB* has *Iśānadeva* or Rudra, the *PB* has *Viśvedeva*.

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[49] For *Rudra*—see–*RV*–1.114. 10; II.33.9.10; II.33.2.12; 1, 114.9; 1.114.4.3; II.33.7; VI. 49.10; VII.46,2; *VS*. XVI. 20.21; *AV*–II.2.22; VI.9.2; XI.22.11; IV.28.4; XI.2.30. He is fierce and wrathful god in the *RV*, a healer and protector of cattle. There is a different picture of Rudra in the *AV* and the *VS*.

[50] *PB* (Calland), Introduction XX.

[51] *JB*, II.404.

[52] *SSS*. *XVII*. 6. 2. ; Some prescriptions of the *JB*, II. 113 are not found in *PB*, *XIX*. 13 and they are the most barbaric ones.

But the *Sāman*, by means of which Prajāpati, through this deity, seeks to retain the cattle, is in both the texts of the *mārgiyava*, the *Sāman* that, elsewhere in *PB* (*XIV*. 9.12) is brought in connection with the Rudra. The name Rudra is avoided in the *PB* (*XIV*. 9.12). Rudra attained supremacy over both kinds of animal[53]. The easternly region is the unconquerable one of the chanters[54]. There is a reference to peasantry, food and the nobility. The nobility is raised over the peasantry.[55]

The Vrātyas have also been called *Daiva* - prajā worshippers and favourites of gods. It is said that the gods of the Vrātyas went to heaven and Vrātyas became disspirited. They lived in temporary sojourn. The *PB*[56] mentions one *Buddha Saunāyana* as the *Sthāpati* of *Daiva Vrātyas*. Sāyana renders *Sthāpati* by *yajmāna* but that is a guess based on the fact that *Buddha - Saunāyana* is there described as performing a sacrifice . . . . . all *Daiva - Vrātyas* are described as performing the sacrifice " with *Buddha*, the *Sthāpati* ". *Sthāpati* can mean a chief or king. The *Daiva - Vrātyas* are desbribed as sacrificing to the *Devas* (gods), therefore they are not gods themselves (as understood by some scholars)[57]. Calland interpets *Sthāpati* as *Gṛhapati*. We shall discuss the details of this aspect later on.

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[53] *mārgiyava Sāmans* are called the chants of Rudra. We have in *JB*. *II*. 254–"The god addressed the mighty god"–Rudra; cf *AB*, III. 34. 3; *PB* VI. 2. 5 mentions 8 *Vasus*, 11 *Rudras* and 12 *Ādityas*.

[54] *PB*–VI. 5. 20.

[55] *Ibid*, VI. 6. 1. cf–*SB*, XII. 7. 3. 20–Rudra is the ruler of cattle. Vāmadevya is cattle. cf–*PB*, VII. 7. 16—we find gods dividing animals amongst themselves.

[56] *PB*–XXIV. 18 referring to sixtyone day rites.

[57] *PB*. XVII. 1. 1. दैवा वै स्वर्गं लोक मायंस्तेषां दैवा अहीयन्त व्रात्यां प्रवसन्तस्त आगच्छन् यतो देवाः स्वर्गं लोकमायन् etc. Sāyana Says– देवानामनुचराः अतः एव देव सम्बन्धाश्चदैवा जनाः। व्रात्या प्रवसन्तः according to Sāyana means व्रात्याम् आचारहीनतां प्राप्य प्रवसन्तः

II

The Vrātya order

The details, with regard to the working of the institutions of the Vrātyas, referred to in the *AV* and other allied literature, throw some light on the Vrātya Order. It appears that the solemn vows were to be taken by everybody who belonged to the cult of the Vrātya. The *AV* (*XV*. 3) gives us the following information on this point :—

AV : *XV*. *3*. *1*—He stood a year erect; the gods said to him :—Vrātya, why now standest thou ?

XV. 3. *2*—Let them bring together *āsandi* (seat) for me.

XV. *3*. *3*—For that Vrātya, they brought a seat.

XV. *5*. *4*—Both *Bṛhat* and *Rathantara* were two lengthwise pieces, both *yajñāyajñiya* and Vāmadevya the two cross (pieces)

. . . .

In the *AV* (*XI*. *3*. *16*) the *Bṛhat* is the stirring spoon, the *Rathantara*, the laddle. Griffith (*op. cit.* 187) explains it as follows—" The *Bṛhat*, the *Rathantara*, the *Ādityas* and all the *Gods* followed him. That man is alienated from the *Bṛhat* who reviles the Vrātya who possesses this knowledge. He, who hath this knowledge, becomes the beloved home of the *Bṛhat*, the *Rathantara* and the *Ādityas* . . . . . " Śaunaka says— " the Gāyatri, the Ekaviṁśa (stom), the Rathantara chant and the Vairāja chant, the Śādhyas and the Āptyas with the Vasus belong to the sphere of Agni[58] "—" In it, the finest three seers

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प्रवासं कुर्वन्तः । K. C. Chattopadhyaya takes earlier pre-Ṛgvedic conquerors of India as *Daivas* and *Vrātyas*. It is to *Daiva-Vrātyas* that *Pṛthu* Vaiṇya puts several questions in the *Jaiminīya Saṁhitopanishad*; cf *CR*, (May 1924); *AIOC*, III. 265ff. ; In the *JB*. II. 222, the Vrātyas insult Vāyu & Iśāna.

[58] *BD*,—1.116. These three groups (Śādhya, Āptyas. and Vasus) take the place of the general statement of the *Nirukta* (VII.8), but none of these three groups belongs to the terrestrial region according to *Naighaṇṭuka* (V. v. 6)

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have declared their own power; how Rathantara chant and how the *Bṛhat* chant[59]". The above hymns make it clear, that host of gods were attendants of the Vrātyas, solemn vows were his messengers and all his creatures his worshippers. The above - quoted *AV* hymns prove that the Vrātya had attained a pre-eminent position as an ascetic. The Vrātya was recognised to be treated with reverence by the people. Wherever he visited, he got due respect. There was no bar on his stay any where since he was to be worshipped as deity. The *AV* describes the pre-eminent position of the Vrātyas as follows[60] :-

"So let the king, to whose house the Vrātya, who possesses the knowledge, comes as a guest, honour him as superior to himself. *So he doth not act against the interests of his princely rank or his kingdom*" (*Hos* - VIII. 783). The king should esteem the Vrātya better.

—"Thence arose sanctity . . . . . . Aufrecht believes that "thence" here means "out of the Vrātya".

गायत्री चैक विंशश्च यच्च साम रथंतरम् ।
साध्या साम च वैराजमआप्त्याश्चवसुभिः सह ॥

[59] *Ibid*, VIII. 78—Dhātrī, Sāvitrī, Viṣṇu, (mentioned in each of the three stanzas of this hymn) as the source from which others (Vasiṣṭha, Bhāradvāja) derived the Rathantara, the Bṛhat and the Dharma.

आत्मप्रभावमाचरन्युम् तात्रधा ऋषयस्त्रयः ।
रथंतरं यथा स्तोत्रं स्तोत्रं चैव यथा बृहत् ।

cf, *Vrātyakāṇḍaṃ* p. 14 : तं बृहण्च रथन्तरं चादित्याश्च
विश्वे च देवा अनुव्यऽचलद् ।

P. 15—बृहते चवै सरथन्तराय चादित्येभ्यश्च विश्वेभ्यश्च आ वृश्चते य एवं-विद्वांसं व्रात्यमुपवदति बृहतश्च वै सरथन्तरस्य चादित्यानां च विश्वेषां च देवानां प्रिय धाम भवति । तस्य प्राच्यां दिशि ।

[60] *AV*. *XV*. *X*; *XI*. *Cf*. *Vrātyakāṇḍaṃ*—P. 43 ff. —तद यस्यैवं विद्वान व्रात्योराज्ञोऽतिथिर्गृयानागच्छेत् । श्रेयांसमेनमात्मिनो मानयेत् तथा **क्षत्राय** ना वृश्चते तथा **राष्ट्राय** ना वृश्चते । also Cf. P. 46.

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—"Sanctity enter Bṛhaspati , . . . It was said – " '*Iti*' here refers to Vrātya according to Aufrecht.

—" This fire is sanctity, Yonder Ādityas is dominion "— Griffith identifies fire with Bṛhaspati and Āditya with Indra.

" To him comes sanctity. "

The deification of the Vrātya in more than one way is clear from the Vrātya hymns. We have to bear in mind here that personalistic theory of creation is not new to the *AV* but is narrated in the Vedic, Brāhmaṇic, and other literature. That is why we find that sometimes the *Vrātyadharma* has been compared to the *Brāhmaṇadharma* (*JB* - II. 222). Vrātya is also called *Viśvapuruṣa* (*AV*. XV. 18) whose qualities are as follows :-

(i) right eye — Āditya (Sun)
(ii) left eye — Moon
(iii) right ear — Fire
(iv) left ear — Wind
(v) Day and night — Nostrils
(vi) Diti and Aditi — Two skull halves
(vii) Head — year.

With day is the Vrātya westward, with the night eastward.

The detailed description of the Vrātya in the *AV* is reminiscent of the great tradition associated with the popular god Mahādeva. In the early Vedic period, *Siṣna - devas* and *Vāmadevas* were looked down by the orthodox aryans. The position gradually changed and the development of the Rudra-cult brought in its train an amalgam of the *Rudra - Śiva*. This amalgam indicated a victory of the aboriginal popular god of the Indian people over the aryans. Even the *Śivaliṅgas* were accorded welcome and *Mahānārāyaṇopanishad* preserves a tradition about the various *liṅgas*[61]. The association of *Mahā-*

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[61] *Ūrddhvaliṅga; Hiraṇyaliṅga, Suvarṇaliṅga, Divyaliṅga, Bhavaliṅga, Śarvaliṅga, Jvalaliṅga, Ātmaliṅga, Paramātmaliṅga, Śivaliṅga, Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* indicates that Śiva worship began in the Vedic period.

deva with the Vrātya is important. It seems that the early Vrātya institution was a common whole, revered and reared up by the original inhabitants of India. These people had a definite deity of their own. The mystic glorification of the Ekvrātya (Iśāna, Mahādeva and Rudra) is nothing but extravagant praise by those who had to struggle hard against the orthodox aryan cult. Had not this been the case, what was the necessity of casting flings on the Vrātya, in unusually sarcastic and ironical terms and compiling books after books as late as the nineteenth century to prove their point of view. The Vrātyas, it seems, after gaining victory over their rivals, got the XVth khaṇḍa of the *AV* compiled, by some of their representatives, simply for the glorification of their Order. We learn from the *Purāṇas* (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* – Madhyabhāga – 63.138 ff) that Vaśiṣṭha was inimical to the Vrātyas. From the language of the *AV* it is evident the *Vrātyasūktas* were not collected when the *PB* was composed. *Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa* is also later than the *PB*. The *AV* (XV) is very near the classical Sanskrit and contains the glorification of the Vrātya.

Māgadha was the friend and adviser of the Vrātya. The *Sūta – Māgadha* tradition was maintained in recent times by the *Bhāṭas* and *Chāraṇas*. In connection with the purification ceremony of the Vrātyas, we have a reference to them as *Yajamānas*[62]. *Sāman* was held in great reverence among the Vrātyas[63]. In the *AV* (XV) we find seven of the eight *mūrtis* of Śiva, the eighth being added in the *Kauśitaki* and all these eight were consolidated in the *SB*. Śiva's connection with the eight forms is closer and intimate. Śiva had no share in the Vedic

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Cf *BD*—VIII. 31—प्रत्यृचं देवता स्तौति लिङ्गैरेवात्रलक्षिताः
आशिषः पुत्रकामस्य प्रथमा हि वदत्यथ ।
—the deities here are indicated by their characteristics (*Liṅga*).

[62] *PB*—VI. 9.24 and XVII. 1, 7 *Commentary*.

[63] *ML*—58.

sacrifice[63A]. His admission into the Vedic pantheon produced a great commotion typified in the *Dakṣa-yajña.* The various gods of the non-aryans were nothing but the different manifestations of Śiva(*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 4. 5. 4. 1). The commotion, created by the *Dakṣa-yajña,* was only natural because it was impossible for the hated 'Vrātya god' to be included into the Vrātya pantheon without a struggle. An indirect reference in this respect is found in the *AV*, wherein it has been stated that if the Vrātya goes as a guest to a Brāhmaṇa's house, who is engaged in sacrifice, he should at once rise and ask the Vrātya to perform the sacrifice himself. If he declines, he should seek the permission of the Vrātya to perfom it himself.

It appears that the *Bhṛgu-Aṅgirasas* made a Veda of their own to expound their cult of the Ekvrātya to develop their own order. That Veda was the *AV* or the Veda of Ekvrātya. The details, in this regard, will come up for discussion in the next chapter. The *TMB* maintains a tradition how the gods outwitted the Asuras.[64] "With the Asuras was the whole sacrifice......the God saw and took." Gods, having expelled the Asuras, ascended the world of heaven.[65] The reference to the Vrātya, going as a guest to the sacrificing Brāhmaṇa,[66] hints at the possibility that the Vrātya originally belonged to a nonsacrificing race. This evidence is nothing more than a

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63(a). There is a reference to Śiva worship in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.* Śiva worship in images probably developed near about the period.

64. *PB*—VIII 6.5.

65. *Ibid*—VIII. 9.15.

66. *AV*—XV. 12.—Without the permission of the Vrātya, the Brāhmaṇas should not sacrifice. This indicates the pre-aryan characteristics of the Vrātya. The aryans introduced the fire sacrifices, which did not exist before, in India.

support in favour of the complete deification of the Vrātya and his order.

There were four divisions of the Vrātya. The Vrātyas swelled in number by leaps and bounds. Their nomadic habits persisted which is evident from the *TMB*. Those belonging to the Vrātya order were generally termed as *"fallen"* or *"degraded*." The main divisions were :—

(1) *Hīna* or Libidinous—The people deteriorated themselves by staying in the Vrāti settlement. They practised neither *Brahmacharya* nor persued agriculture or trade. They have been called *Kaniṣṭhas* among whom were the *Arhantas* and *Yaudhas* [67]

(2) *Gārāgiras*—They were swallowers of poison and ate Brāhmaṇa's food. They call good words bad. They used to strike the guiltless with a stick. Though not initiated, they speak the speech of the initiated.[68] Hopkins characterises them as poison-eaters, thieves and taker of priests' food. In the words of K. C. Chattopadhyaya—"They felt no scruples in snatching away the wealth of the Brāhmaṇas and women." (*CR*—May 1924-p. 289).

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[67] *PB*—XVII. 52–53; cf XVII. 1.2 "Those, who lead the life a joined group, are destitute, left behind. For they neither practise the study of the Veda nor do they plough or trade."

[68] *Ibid*—XVII. 1.9; cf *Baudhāyana*, XVIII. 24—अथयद् व्रात्यवादम् वदन्ति दीक्षितवादस्य तद्रुपम् । On the authority of the *PB*, D. R. Bhaṇḍārkar thinks that this conception seems to have given rise to notion that Śiva was a swallower of poison, on account of which he is designated as *Nīlakaṇṭha* (*SAIC*—p. 46); also cf—*Baudhāyana*–XVIII. 47

cf. *Der Vratya*—pp. 155 ff.

p. 156—"Ich habe in meiner früheren Deutung der sätze die vermutung ausgesprochen, die Vrātya sein wirkliche Giftesser gewesen. So Könte Z. B. auch die stelle Taitt. Ār. 1, 9, 3 gedeutet werden. Heir werden beim Bau des Feueraltars angerufen, unter anderen "Göttern : raśmayaś ca devā garagiraḥ……Ferner gab es einen ṚṢI, der nen Namen garagīrniṇ trug.

(3) *Samanīcha Meḍhra*—They were those whose "Meḍhra" hung low through control of passion. They were called Jyeṣṭhas, who resided in the Vrāti settlement and in the words of A. P. Karmarkar practised Yoga.[69]

(4) *Ninditā*—Consisted of people who had become outcastes.

The *KSS*[70] enables us to explain these technical terms. The *KSS*[71] has the following classification—

(i) *Ninditāḥ* (No. 4 of the above)

(ii) Kaniṣṭha and Hīnāchara (No. 1 of the above classification).

(iii) Jyeṣṭha (No. 3 of the above classification)[71A].

(i) *Ninditāḥ* are those base persons charged (by honourable men) of sins and excommunicated and they should perform the rites of the second order.[72] The *PB*[73] says—"This

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cf *JB*—II. 83. *Der Vrātya*—pp. 164–65.

p. 164—Wir müssten dann annehmen, dass die Vrātya auf ihren Wanderungen offiziell an ketzerischen Totenopfern teilnahmen, sei vielleicht sogar vollzogen.

[69] *PB*—XVII. 41; Karmarkar—*Op. Cit.* 25.

[70] The following texts have been used—

(a) Karkabhāṣya of the *KSS*. (abbreviated *KSS* (k))

(b) Kāsī edition of the *KSS*.

[71] *KSS*–XXI. 4.

[71(a)] *KSS* (k)-व्रात्याश्चतुर्विधा :—निन्दिता, कनिष्ठाः, ज्येष्ठाः, हीनाचाराश्च; Cf *LSS*–VIII. 6.

[72] There is a slight change in the reading of the Kāsī adition text.

[73] *P. B.*–XVII. 2.1. These words have not yet been fully

rite should be performed by those who are base and censured, lead a Vratya life."

(ii) *Kaniṣtha*—The youngers should perform the rites with the third order.[74] According to the *PB*, "those, who being youngest, lead a Vrātya life." The Hinācharas are those who have given up the *Dvija* rites[75] or have been deprived of the *Sāvitrī*.

(iii) *Jyeṣṭha*—The elders are entitled to the rites of the fourth order.[76] The older persons having retired from the

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explained by the writers on the subject except Dr. Hauer in his *Der Vrātya*—p. 149 ff.

Der Vrātya—150. Sāyaṇa explains it—

"नृशंसा निन्दिताः मनुष्यैरभिशंसानेन पापाध्यारोपेणगर्हिताः सन्तो ये पुरुषाः व्रात्याम् व्रात्यत्वम् प्राप्य प्रवसेयुः (Sāyaṇa's *Commentary* on the *PB* XVII. 2.1)

PB–XVII. 2.4—नृशंसनैरभिषस्यमानं पुरुषमग्रं श्रैष्ठ्यं परिणयन्ति ।

Der Vrātya–p. 155.

—"Und da sich der" grösste Übeltäter, (Winternitzens Übersetzung Von nṛśaṃsa tama) as Kandidat für die Würde des Gṛhapati neben dem Hervorrangendsten in der Wissenschaft, dem Vornehm sten an Geburt oder den Reichsten gar eigen ausnimmt, Werden wir heir die Bedeutung "Beschwörer " als die einzig mögliche, sicher als die dem Gesamtbilde der Vrātya sinngemässeeste annehmen. Denn Warum der" grösste Übeltäter" Zu jener hohen würde neben den andern berechtigt sein soll, ist nicht ein Zusehen, Während der grösste Zauberer under den Vrātya folgerichtig auch ihr Vorsteher beim opfer sein Kann.

[74] *PB*–XVII. 3.4 तपसा कनिष्ठाः ।

[75] *KSS*—(Kāsī edn.) अन्येऽपिद्विजातिकर्म परित्यज्य हीन कर्माशीलास्तेऽपि व्रात्याः । Cf *LSS*—VIII. 6.

[76] *KSS*—XXII. 4. 6–7 Kāsī edition has a slightly different reading.; cf—*PB*, XVII. 4. 3.

act of procreation are known as *Jyeṣthas*.[77] Amongst the *Hīnas*, thers were *Ārhantas* and *Yaudhas*. The '*Nidānasūtra*[78] refers to two kinds of Vrātyas—(a) The *Sirsādis* and (b) the *Aisikayāvis*. For the *Śirsādis*, he should apply or chant the *agnistoma Sāman* or *satobṛhati* verses. This is the opinion of Dhanañjaya. These were known as the older ones. For the *Aisikayāvisis*, he should chant it on *pṛgāthabṛhati* verses. Dhanañjaya defends the manner of the *Kauśitakinas*.[79] All these are indicative of the fact that there were sects and divisions among the Vrātyas, because we find that for all of them separate *Vrātyastoma* rites have been prescribed. D. R. Bhandarkar[80] is not wrong when he hints at the earliest origin of the caste-system in ancient India out of which the aryans, who had no such division, built their own fabric of social system.

From the above study, it is apparent that almost all the sects of Śaivism were the products of the Vrātya order. The division of the Vrātyas, set forth above, confirms our point of view. The *Gārāgiras*, *yati*, *Pāśupatas*, *Kāpālikas* and others came into prominence with the spread of the Vrātya culture. The later literary sources simply depict their darker side.[81] Even the later sources with regard to the Vrātyas are coloured

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77. The Kāsī *edn.* has the following commentary on this Sūtra.—
"अपगत प्रजननेन्द्रियसामर्थ्या यौवनापगमनेन स्थविरा वृद्धा ज्येष्ठ संज्ञा भवन्ति तेषां मध्ये यो निन्दितमादिः स गृहपति कार्यः ।

78. *Nidānasūtra* – VI. 11

79. *JB*— II. 226—"Now the *Vrātyastoma* of the Aisikapāvas, who had Kuśitaka as their Gṛhapati, a sacrifice of which the Pavamāna laws are sixteen versed."

cf. *PB*–XXIV. 18. 1 (b)— 'The Vrātyas had a sacrificial session with Buddha as their Sthāpati :......consecrated themselves......Varuṇa cursed them.'

80. *SAIC*—p. 47.

81. cf my article—'*Heretical Sects*'

with prejudice and we have to study them with due caution. The Vrātyas had their own distinctive mark.[82] We have seen above that the *Gārāgiras* formed an important sect of the *Śaivas*.[83] Wilson believes that the God must have been credited with swallowing poison. Even to this day, there are some votaries of Śiva, who take delight in showing their indifference to worldly objects by eating and drinking not only ordure and carrion, but also poisonous acids and nails.[84]

The *Yati* was the most ancient ascetic among the Vrātyas. D. R. Bhandarkar believes that the *Vaikhānasas* were apparently the same as *Munis* and the *yatis* probably belonged to the Aśura community who did not worship Indra[85]. The *RV* uses the term in connection with the *Bhṛgus* [86]. The *Yati* figures prominently in the *AV* [87]. The *Saṁhitās* depict Indra as an enemy of the *Yati*, as the following references would show—

(a) Indra gave the *Yatīs* to the *Sālāvṛkas*, then they ate on the right of the high altar. [88].

(b) Indra cast down *Vṛtra*, threw *Yatis* before Sālāvṛkas [89].

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82. Pai—*Religious Sects in India among the Hindus*—p. 69
83. *PB*—XVII. 1. 9.
84. Wilson—*Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, pp. 223–234.
85. Bhandarkar—*op. cit.* p. 18
86. *RV*—VII 56. 8; X. 72.7. the *yatis* are credited with the act of creating all existing things to grow.
87. *AV*—XX. 9. 9 XX. 49.
88. *Tait. Saṁhitā*—VI. 2. 7. 5–"they overcame the Asuras".
89. *AB*—VII. 28; About the *Sālāvṛkas*, cf the *BD*. III. 132 :

त्रितं गास्त्वनुगच्छन्तं क्रूराः साला वृकीसुताः ।
कूपे प्रक्षिप्य गाः सर्वास् तत एवापजह्रिरे ।

For other details concerning the Vrātya order and sect–cf. *AV*—XVIII. 1. 5; *SB* IV. 2. 5. 20; VIII. 2, 4, 7 ff; *ASS* II. 6, 1, 11, 5; *KSS* XXIV. 2. 23. *AV*–IX. 4. 8; *ṚV*—X. 8. 2; *SB*—II. 3, 4, 3, ff; *Der Vrātya*, pp. 58 ff.

The *yatis* probably came to be known as *Sannyāsī* of the Upanishadic period. The reference to the long-haired *Muni* in the *ṚV* [90] as "wearing soiled and yellow hue garments, and as being wind clad (naked) at girdle.[91]; as being friend of Indra, as drinking *Viṣa* (poison) alongside of Rudra [92]" is similar to the description of the long-haired *Kesinas* in the *AV*.[93] The *Yatis* were, no doubt, pre-aryan people having different customs from those of the Vedic aryans. When the aryans became powerful, they turned them into new order and placed them in the third *āśrama* of *Vaikhānasas*. *We* learn from the *PB* [94] that "Indra resorted to life *Vaikhānasas* who had been killed by the Asuras at a place called *Munimaraṇa*'. This particular point suggests the identity of *Vaikhānasas* with the *Munis* with whom the fourth *aśrama* of *yati* was added in due course.

The Pāśupata held the field for a considerably long period and influenced the cause of our cultural development (See discussion on philosophy). Just as the *yatis* were absorbed, similarly all other systems conneted with Śiva and Śaivism were absorbed with all their variants. The Vrātyas retained the supreme position of the *Rudra-Śiva* cult and declared the cult as of supreme importance. *Rudra-Śiva*, as the supreme godhead of the Universe, came to dominate the Vrātya order and that marked their intelletual independence. The concept of the *Ek-vrātya* was in every way akin to the *Yati*. The indication of the association between Śiva and Yoga is found in the *AV* (XV. 15) in the following words—"Of that Vrātya, there are seven breaths, seven expirations (apāna)" as '*upward, prauḍha, Abhyuḍha, Vibhū, Yoni*, dear and unlimited." The contribution of the Vrātyas lay mainly in the field of monotheism.

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[90] *RV*—VIII. 17. 4

[91] *Ibid*—X. 136; cf. *BD*—III. 106, 115; V. 144; VII. 47; VIII. 18

The hymn on the *Kesinas* refers to the *Munis* and the hymn has seven stanzas and each stanza is said to have for its *Ṛṣi* one of the seven sons of Vātarasana. The munis were not purely sacrificers and their association with the number '7' is significant.

[92] *Ibid.*—cf. *Rudra.*

[93] *AV*—XI. 2. 18–31

[94] *PB*—XIV. 4. 7.

The Vrātyas' association with seven vital airs, seven downward breath and seven diffused breath is remarkable. The upward airs were Agni, Āditya, Soma, Pavamāna, waters, domestic animals and creatures. The downward breaths were, the full moon, light day after the full moon (*Aṣṭkā*), new moon, faith, *Dīkṣā*, sacrifice and sacrifical fees. The diffused airs were, earth, *antarikṣa*, heaven, constellations, seasons, season groups and years. These were the important possessions of the Vrātyas. *Aṣṭakā* was associated with the *Śrāddha* cult. The diffused airs of the Vrātya included some calculations of seasons and years. The *Atharvaveda* (XV) also contains a reference to the seven oblations for *Pitṛins*. Some of the gods, invoked to help the *Ṛṣi* (*AV*—XIX. 43) to attain *Brahman*, are also included in the list of seven vital airs of the *Vrātya*. Ek-vrātya is also called *Ekarṣi*. The association of the *Munis* with *seven* (7) in *ṚV* has its counterpart in the *AV* which preserves a tradition of the association of the number seven with the Vrātyas. *ṚV* (X. 5) says—"Seven are the the pathways which the wise (fathers) have fashioned." According to the *SB* (VI. 1, 1, 1 ff) the *Puruṣas* are seven and these seven becoming one come to be known as Prajāpati. We have seen above that *munis* were not sacrificers and the same was the case with the Vrātyas. It reminds us of the association of the *Saptarātra* cult with ancestor worship. [95]

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[95] '*Saptarātra*' as a cult occurs in the *Agnipurāṇa* (chapter–39) and vaguely in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (*chapter* 21). Cf. *ṚV*. 1. 8, 1;

Another important sect of the Vrātyas was *Ārhatas*. The *SB* refers to *Arhatas* and *Śramaṇa* etc. They have also been mentioned in the *PB* (XVII. 53. 2). Some scholors have interpreted *Arhatas* as Brāhmaṇas. Bhandarkar calls them saints (op. *cit*—p. 18). The Buddhists are of opinion that the *Ārhatas* are those who have attained salvation or at least have reached the stage of salvation. Sometimes Ārhatas have been taken as persons belonging to other communities (*Vinaya*-1. 30-32; *Saṁyutta* II. 220). According to the *TMB*, they were part and parcel of the Vrātya civilisation. According to Rhys Davids, in general sense, every Buddha was an *Ārhata* and Rāhula claimed to be *Ārhata*. Even about 73 women are said to have become *Ārhatas* during Buddha's lifetime (*ERE*-774 ff). The Buddhists, being heretical themselves, came to be classified as *Ārhatas* and *Yaudhas* by those who belived in the orthodox system. The Śūtras mention *Arhantas* and *Yaudhas* among the Vrātyas, corresponding respectively to Brāhmaṇa and Kṣhatriya in the Brāhmaṇical hierarchy (*The Vedic Age*, I. 256). Their association with the Vrātyas is evident from the *TMB*. The very fact, that they have been classed as important sects, proves the extension of the Vrātya system and also of the prevalence of certain customs arising out of the different meaning of the words "*Arhantas*" and "*Yaudhas*." The places, denounced by the orthodox aryans as a land of the Vrātyas, ultimately became the cradle of two important religious systems like Jainism and Buddhism and also of Ajvikaism. Early Buddhists were largely recruited from the Vrātya Kṣhatriyas [96]. *Nidānasūtra* also throws some light on this aspect. Buddha indirectly refers to the existence of orthodox cult when he says—

I. 22.8; I. 11. 5; X. 72; X. 136; X, 5; *AV*. XIX. 43; XV. *Bṛh-up*—2. 5-36.; *Chāndogya*-2. 9. 1 ff.

BSS. XVII. 21; *DN*-XXXIII; XXXIV; *Mahāparinibbānasutta*-III. 65; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*-1. 2. 45 ff.

[96] BN. Datta—*Studies is Indian Social Polity*, pp. 273, 310.

"knowing the mystic verses, one who had mastered the three Vedas.[97]" It appears that the fourth Veda had, by that time, not come to be recognised.

III

TANTRA

In our description of the cult of the Vrātyas, we have shown their connections with the goddess worship which ultimately formed the basis of *Tāntricism* in India. Estern India has been the main centre of the *Tāntric* cult and even today, Nepāl, Kāmrupa, Bengāl and Mithilā are regarded as the chief centres of *Tantra*. Mother goddess is as old as the Indus valley civilisation. The *MBH* speaks of the worship of female demon by *Vāhlikas*, identified with the Vrātyas. The cult of mother goddess is, as such, very old and eventually numerous additions and modifications have been made from time to time. The Vrātyas have been described as soothsayers, wizards, wanderers, Yogi, irreligious and what not. The *AV*, associated with the Vrātyas, is also noted for its *tāntric* importance and it can be taken as the starting point of the *Tāntric* studies. The association of *Puṁśchali* with Ekvrātya is a pointer in this direction.

Tantra is derived from the root *"tan"* to spread. It is suffixed by *'tran'*—"starting from that of web or warp," it came gradually to stand for an uninterrupted series, orderly ritual[98]", the doctrinal theory and finally its literary expression[99] or injunction, regulation and Śāstra (*Vidhi*, *Niyama* and treatise).[100] In the *tantra*, the conception of deity as a supreme personality (*Parāhantā*) and of the double aspect of God in one of which He realises or becomes the Universe.

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[97] *DN*—I, p, 88.

For Hauer's views—cf. *Der Vrātya*—p. 58 ff.

[98] W. Woodroffe—*Shakti and Shākta*. p. 50.

[99] Payne—*The Śāktas*—49.

[100] Woodroffe—*op. cit.* 50.

The description of the *Ekvrātya* in the *AV*. (XV) is worth studying in this light. The *tāntric* idea of the production of the universe by the blending of male and female principles owes its development to the popularisation of the *Sāṁkhya* philosophical idea of the union of two principles *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. Others hold the view that the philosophy underlying the *Tantras* are a modification of *Sāṁkhya* and *Vedānta* systems.[101] It is possibly a development of the *Śiva-Śakti* cult which was prevalent in pre-aryan times. The *Śvetāśvatara upanishad* points out that *Māyā* is *prakṛti* and its own Maheśvara. The *Sāṁkhya* doctrine itself is ascribed to the Vrātyas or the proto-Indians. The assumption may not be correct but then one thing is clear that the Sāṁkhya had no foundations in the orthodox systems. *Śiva-Śakti* can be equated with *Puruṣa-prakṛti* of the *Upnishads*[102]. If the identity of *Tāntricism* and *Śaktism* be accepted, we can ascribe its origin to the Vrātyas.

According to the *MBH*, Śāktism[103] may be traced to an earlier period. There is a reference to the cult of *Śakti*. There occur such names as *Bhagaliṅga*[104], *Māheśvariprajā*,[105]

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[101] S. N, Das gupta–*History of Indian philosophy*. I. 171.

[102] Avalon—*Principles of Tantra*; cf Ward–*History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindus*; Also Cf. Farquhar—*Outline of Religious literature in India*—p. 199 ff.

It is rather strange that the 'Tantra' is not mentioned in the *Amarakoṣa*. The Chinese travellers between 400 and 700 AD. do not refer to *Tantra*. Avalon takes them to a considerable earlier date. Farquhar believes that *Tantra* took a definite shape sometime after the seventh century AD.

[103] *MBH*—VIII. 76–78 (*Sauptikaparva*) refers to the Pāṇḍava warriors seeing the embodiment of Kālī. having bloody mouth and eyes, of black visage, wearing crimson garlands......also cf. *Ibid*—VIII. 44. 25–26.

[104] *Anuśāsanaparva*—Adhyāya—58.3

[105] *Ibid*—45. 217.

Mātṛkas[106], *Bhagadeva*[107] etc. Jarā, a demoness, is installed in every house and is called *Gṛhadevatā* in the *Sabhāparva*[108]. Here we have to bear in mind that the *Rigvedic* expression *Trayambaku* must be distinguished from the one mentioned in later literature. *YV* calls *Ambikā* a sister of Rudra.[109] While in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[110], Rudra is called the husband of Ambikā or Umā. Interest in female deities came later on in the Aryan Society.[111] The deliberate effort towards the amalgamation of the Vrātya deity into the aryan pantheon was being made.[112] Since Śiva had a spouse, all other aryan gods must have one each. *Śaktism* and *Tāntricism*, if not one and the same, are at least identical in many respects and are the oldest cults of India. That is why *Tāntricism* did not find favour with the orthodox thinkers of ancient India and the later records bear testimony to this fact. The following example will substantiate the above the view point.

The antiquity of the *Kubjikāmata*, a school of *tantra*, is vouchsafed by the fact that a Gupta manuscript has been found; that *Kubjikā* is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Triṁśikā*. The *Kubjikā* presupposes the existence of other schools, *viz*, *Devayāna*, *Pitṛyāna* and *Mahāyana*.[113] We further learn that the cult is derived from the non-Vedic sources,[114] and that it comes from outside India.[115] The system is described as coming from the west. Its tendency and its attitude towards other religion may be inferred from the text[116] which enjoins *Prāyaśchitta* for killing the priests of various sects. The author is apprehensive of the fact that the pouring of the Magas or the magians (from Scythia and Persia) would one day be equal to the Brāhmaṇas. Koṅkaṇa, Chola, Vāhlika, Saindhava, Gurjara, Laḍa, Kāmarūpa, Bengāl, Magadha and other places are mentioned in the text. Magadha not only figures in the *AV* but also in such an important *Tāntric* text of a later period. In almost all the important scriptures of the heretics, the Magadhas, despised in the early Vedic literature, figure prominently and play important part as well. Anybody, departing from the orthodox cult, was derided at and we have an example of Śaṁkara, who was called a *Prachchhana Bauddha*, whose philosophy of *Māyā* did not please all. *Tantra*, in the present form, might not have been the result of the Vrātya experiment but this much can be said with some amount of

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[106] *Salyaparva*—47. 1 ff.

[107] *Āśvalāyanaparva*—143. 15.

[108] *Sabhāparva*—18.1 ff.

[109] This hints at the possibility of brother-sister-marriage prevalent among the Vrātyas.

[110] *Taitt. Āraṇyaka*—X, 18.

[111] Payne—*op. cit. pp.* 37–8.

[112] *Viṣṇu-Sarasvatī, Vārāha Vārāhī*—etc. cf *Muṇḍakoponishad* 1. 2. 4.

[113] H. P. Sāstric—*Nepal Darbar Catalogue*—(LXXVIII–LXXX)
दक्षिणे देवयानीं तु पितृयानस्तथोत्तरे ।
मध्यमे तु महायानं शिव संज्ञा प्रगीयते ।।

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114. *Ibid*—यागस्यमुख्यतान्नास्तिनि: संदिग्धकरीपरा ।
चतुर्विंश सहस्रस्य तस्यैवार्द्धस्य चार्द्धतः ।
तन्माध्याद्यष्ट संख्यन्तु सहस्र यदुदीरितम् ।
ततसार देवदेवेशि कुलमार्गे कुलमार्गेच संस्फुटः ॥

115. *Ibid* (LXXX) गच्छत्वं भारतवर्षेऽधिकाराय सर्व्वतः ।
पीठोपपीठक्षीत्रेपु कुरु सृष्टिरनेकधा ॥
गच्छत्वं भारतेवर्षे कुरु सृष्टिस्त्वमीदृशः ।
पञ्चवेदाः पञ्चैवयोगिनः पीठपन्चकः
एकैकस्य परीवारान् कथयामि समासतः ॥
—Herein five *Pīṭhaṣ* of Orissa, Jalandhara, Maratha, Mālanga and Kāmākhyā are mentioned.

116—*Ibid*—ब्राह्मगस्तु तदा देवी प्रमादा पतितोभवेत ।
लक्षैर्विंशति भिंः शुद्धिः पञ्चभिस्तु प्रमादतः ॥
वौधाहन्त निहन्ता च द्विजाद्द्विगुणे विशुध्यते ।
नाकुला रौद्रकारश्चैव आज्ञानाहत चेतसा ॥
For a detailed description, also consult D. P. Chattopādhyāya—*The Lokāyat*.
(The text is ungrammatical)

certainty that the system had a pre-aryan beginning. Even in Bihar, in most of the places associated with Sakti, the keepers of the *Pithas* are low caste people. Hinduism, is, in large measure, indebted to the pre-aryan system and one such example of indebtedness is the *Tantra.*

Some of the fundamental concepts of the Śaiva and Tāntric systems are *Jyotiḥ. Bindu, Nāda, Kuṇḍali, Nirbijikaraṇa,*[117] *Oṁ,* which in the expression of Śiva is also called Jyoti. [118] *Nāda* and *Bindu* are the two concepts always mentioned together. When *Śakti* is stirred up by the creative urge of *Śiva,* there arises *Nāda* whence emerges *Bindu.* The *Tattvaprakāśa* (2.11) of Bhoja remarks that *Nāda* and *Bindu* are included in the *Śivatattva* [119]. *Nāda* and *Bindu* find exhaustive treatment in the Tantras. [120] The *Svayambhuna Tantra* enumerates twenty eight *Tantras* or *Āgamas* [121]. To accept *Śiva* without *Śakti* is like expecting a harvest from seeds without the intermediary of earth. *Śakti* is the inherent and conscious power of Śiva and as such creates the Universe. The universe is ultimately merged in Śiva, just as foam and waves rise from the ocean and are merged in the ocean. [122] When we think of Ekvrātya and his position as discussed in the *AV* of the *Praśnopanishad*, it is evident that he is no other than the *Śiva.* The indispensible and inseparable connections between *Śiva* and *Śakti* from a funadamental dogma of the system. The cult of *Devī*, known under different names throughout the ages, seems to have been evidently prevalent in all ages of our history but became too much known after the seventh century A.D. The cult is ordinarily known as *Śakti* worship and we find its trace in the Indus civilisation. [123]

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[117] Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* (VIII. 39) condemn the system—
ज्योति विन्दुः कलानादः कुण्डली वायु संचरः ।

[118] We learn from the *JB* (1. 10. 34) that the Vrātyas were acquainted with the philosophy of *Oṁ. OṀ* is called *Jyotiḥ*— Cf. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Commentory on *Śāradātilaka* 1. 11—
त्रिधा शक्तिः स्थिता यत्र तत् परं ज्योतिरोमिति ।

[119] नादो विन्दुः सकलौ सदाशिवं तत्वमाश्रितौ कथितौ ।

[120] Cf. *Śāradātilaka* 1. 7 आसीच्छक्तिस्ततो नादो नादाद्विन्दु समुद्भवः ।
cf. *Prapañcasāratantra*—1.42, 43

[121] K. K. Handipui—*Yaśastilaka & Indian Culture.* P. 336

[122] यथा फेनतरङ्गादि समुद्रत्थितं पुनः । समुद्रे लीयते तद्वज्जगन्मय्येव लीयते ।
Sūtasaṁhitā.

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[123] Hauer—Der Vrātya. p. 232 ff.—refers to certain animistic rites and customs in connection with his description of the Vrātyas in the MBH.

P. 232—"Dazu ist noch Zu vergleichen die liste in der Bṛhatsaṃhita des Varāhamihira (87, 39) : ein liestimmter Vogelzug Zeigt an. dass Gefahr, droht, von einem Hund, Von einem Vrātya Brahmanen, einem Sklaven oder von einer Hure".

P. 233.—refers to a race of people having primitive religion and customs. Cf. *MBH* ślokas quoted earlier.

P. 235—...Sie Werden Vrātya genannt (wie auch die Dāsanīya und die Videha), Leute, die den brahmanischen Opferkult nichpflegen (ayajyu), und um die sich darum weder Götter noch Väter noch die Brahmanen Kümmern.

P. 236—Rudra–Śiva and Durgā Pārvatī

P. 237—refers to Vaṭasāvitrīvrata—prevalent even today in Mithilā —Cf. *Karpūramañjarī*—Act IV (Hos–IV)

—"Das Fest heisst *Vaṭasāvittimahūsava* oder *Vaṭasāvitrivrata*" das fest der Banyan-Sāvitri. Deises fest wird von den Frauen Zur Zeit des vollmonds des Montas Jyesṭha gefeirt' un Nachkommenschaft zu erlangen. (Story of Sāvitrī,–Satyavāna) (Cf.—*Vānaparva*–III. 294)

Uber die mythologische Grundlage der Sāvitri–Satyavat sage kann gar kein Zweifel bestehen angesichts der Tatsache, dass das Fest vatasāvitrīvrata, das ja der Gottin Sāvitri gilt, aufs engste mit der Sāvitri–sage verknüpft ist. (Cf. *JAOS*–XXI.)

P. 240. Cf. for the identification of Dionysos, S'iva etc. and see the discussion later on.

P. 241. for scattered references.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANISATION OF THE VRĀTYAS

I

Early organisation of the Vrātyas

The Vrātyas, it is said, do not study, practise agriculture or trade. They call good words bad, punish the guiltless with blows, and though unconsecrated, speak the speech of the consecrated. These points are remarkable in the sense that they help us in assessing the importance of the study of the Vrātya problem on a scientific basis. It is now evident that the Vrātyas had a different language and customs. If Kātyāyana is to be relied upon, the Vrātyas were skilled in dance, song and music and they were competent enough to teach all these to a company of the Vrātyas. Even those, who believe in the mystification of the *Vrātyakāṇḍa* of the *AV*, should note that while the Ṛigvedic pantheon disappeared after a particular period, the Vedic religion showed development into two different directions :—

(i) Theosophical speculation brought into existence new and abstract deities.

(ii) People's gods received recognition which was not accorded to them in the Ṛigveda and the most prominent among them was the *Ekvrātya* of the *AV*.

If the Vrātyas did not have any importance, how did they figure so prominently in the huge mass of ancient literature ? It can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that in the *Sūtra* period there was a regular contempt for the organisation of a type of people who lived in Magadha and its neighbourhood. The Vrātyas had a definite organisation of their own, having different social and economic systems. They represented a different culture altogether. Different scholars hold different views regarding the Vrātyas, though none of them can claim to be perfect in this respect. Whether they were nomadic western tribes beyond Sarasvatī[1], or the Śukla-ārya in the westward[2], will be discussed in the last chapter. Here we are concerned only with their organisation. The Kauśitakis had a close connection with Magadhas [3]. The Magadhas, used in the plural in the *AV*, certainly denote a tribe. [4]

A tribe, without any emblem or even an insignia of the so-called Brāhmaṇic culture, said to have flourished in a particular period of history, must have laid the foundations of some sort of social organisation. The Vrātyas, if taken as derived from the *Vrāta*, had a definite organisation of their own. They had their temporary settlements. They sojourned in *Vrātyā*.[5] They had their patriarchs. Dyutāna, who belonged to Marutas, was their house-holder or *Gṛhapati*[6]. According to a commentary on the *PB*[7], *Gṛhapati* is said to have been the same man as supplied the *Yūpa* and *Añjana* and uttered the Ṛtuyājyā. One of such *Sāmans* is *Dyautāna Sāman* in honour of the Marutas, named after Dyutāna. It is the *Gṛhapati* who estabishes all over Vrātyas in prosperity or in welfare [8]. Another important *Gṛhapati* of the Vrātya was Kauśitaka, the son of Samaśravas. Luśakapi, the son of Kha-

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1. *Vedic Age*—I. 256.
2. *JDL*—VIII. 273 (18)
3. *Kauśitakī Āraṇyaka*—VII. 13
4. *AV.*—V. 22.14.
5. *PB*—XVII. 1. 5. 12, where *Pravāsa* may mean a sojourn. Calland explains it as follows—"leading the life of a sojourned group." (p. 455)
6. *Ibid*—XVII. 1.7
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid*—XVII. 1. 8—*Anirukta Nidhana* refers to all deities and all the Vrātyas.

ragala, cursed them saying—"They are fallen[9] off," Kauśitaka was on old Vrātya leader, who, on account of having lost his virility, could not perform the sacrifice successfully and was, therefore, cursed by Luśakapi. Sāyaṇa takes Kauśitaka as one of the seers of the Sākhās of *RV*. These *Gṛhapatis* seem to have been the leader of different Vrātya hordes. In course of the *Vrātyastoma* rite, each Vrātya brought to the Vrātya leader thirty three cows since they were allowed to prosper by their leader [10]. We further learn about another rite known as *Ukthya-rite* in connection with the *Agnistoma* ceremony. The *Uktha* (= Land) are cattle. It is the cattle that leads to prosperity. Through cattle, he leads them to superiority.

The Vrātyas had, thus, their *Gṛhapatis* and cattle. The *Gṛhapati* accepted cattle as fees for making them prosperous. Cow was an object of veneration among the Vrātyas. All these clearly indicate a definite shape of things that existed in those days. The veneration of cow is an important point in so far as the history of the *Vrātyas* is concerned. The early aryans had no such respect for cows. The *PB* gives an insight into the true state of affairs obtaining in those days and especially with regard to the Vrātyas. Base and censured led a Vrātya life[12]. The were siezed by bad fortune [13]. Destitutes were left behind to lead a Vrātya life. The nine versed *stoma* of Pavamāna lands, if properly followed, delivered them from their bad fortune[14]. It hints at filling up the fortune of the chief or the priest. Separate rites were prescribed for the old Vrātyas who were precluded from sexual intercourse[15]. The Vrātyas are said to have held a sacrificial session with Buddha as their *Sthāpati*[16] and consecrated themselves. Calland explains it in this way—"Here *Sthāpati* seems to occupy the place of *Gṛhapati*. The Vrātyas were not willing to beg a *devayajana* of Varuṇa, precisely because they were adherents of *Deva* and not of the usual gods[17]" The Vrātyas are said to have thrived in all ways after the performance of sacrifice[18]. There were,

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[9] *Ibid*—XVII. 4.3

[10] *Ibid*—XVII. 1. 17

[11] *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 4

[12] *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 1

[13] *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 2

[14] *Ibid*—XVII. 3. 1–3

[15] *Ibid*—XVII. 4. 1–3; Cf *KSS*—XXII. 4. 7

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[16] *Ibid*--XXIV. 18. 1 (b)—Cf the commentary of *KSS*-XXII. 4. 7—अपगत प्रजनेन्द्रिय सामर्थ्या यौवनापगमनेन स्थविरावृद्धा ज्येष्ठ संज्ञा भवन्ति। तेषां मध्ये यो निन्दिततमादिः स गृहपति कार्यः। व्रात्यस्तोमाश्च लौकिकेऽग्नौ कार्यं। इति ककाचार्यः (१।१।१४)। तेनात्रगार्हपत्योऽग्निर्लौकिक एव नाधान निष्पन्नः। व्रात्यस्तोमार्थ माधानं कार्यमित्यपरे। तथा च गृह्यकारिका करः। "अभार्यस्यान धीतस्य स्यापाधानं तदर्थतः।" (९।१४५—*Kāsi edn*)

[17] *Ibid*—P. 621 *note*

[18] *Ibid*—XXIV. 18. 9.; Cf. *Der Vrātyas*—pp. 82 ff. He discusses in details about the final distribution of the sacrificial presents; about the duties of the *Gṛhapati* and other rituals (वहुयजमान के कर्मणि...केवलकृत्वर्यानि यः करोति स गृहतैरुच्यते—Sāyana), sacrifice and the Vrātya order, and Buddha as the director of the celestial Vrātya.

Cf P. 122—"Meine varmutung ist,......und die auch bei den bekherten und ihren Nachkommen, soweit sie, wei die Sāṅkhāyana Leute, mehr an der Peripherie des brahmanischen Kulturkreises, in diesem Falle im Westem, Wohnten, in Ūbung blieb, bis sie mehr und mehr vom streng orthodoxen Ritus aufgesogen oder verdrängt wurde...denen als verwandten des Vrātya Ṛsi Kuṣītaka allas daran liegen musste, ihre Brüder aus der "Sünde" Zu erlösen...T. M.Br. und richteten sich wohl nach der Art des Vrātya-Haufens, für solche verwendet worden sein, die weider vom rechten Glauben abgefallen waren...Sicher hatten die Nachkommen der Vrātya-Ṛṣi, die ja selber den Makel (P. 123) der alten ketzerei nicht losgeworden waren, offenere Arme für die sich Bekehrenden; Vielleicht auch schätzten die Vrātya selber die Bekehrung im streng orthodoxen stil höher ein als

now juice in the herbs, butter and fat in the milk, flesh and so on after they had succeeded in the sacrifice in

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Im laxeren der Sāṅkhāyana und waren bereit, fur den makellosen Orthodoxen charakter höhere offer Zu bringen als fur den fragwürdigen der andern, wei auch bei Bekehrungen Zum christentum in Indian es nicht als ganz dasselbe betrachtet wird, ob einer zur Anglican church oder etwa zu einer Baptist mission Übertritt."

Die Beschreibung zeigt den Gṛhapati der Vrātya mit seiner phantastischen Ausrüstung in Begleitung der andern Vrātya, under denen sich die aus AV–XV. 2 bekannten Personen māgadha, Puṁśchali, pariskanda befinden. Eein Wagen, und zwar ein vollausgerusteter Kriegswagen und nicht der lotterige wagen der Kommentare der andern Texte, ist die opferstätte, die nicht weniger symbolish—mystisch betrachtet wird als die der orthodoxen Brāhmanen. Siehaben eine dīkṣā-artige Einweihung mit dem nötigen magischen Apparat. Ein Bock Wird als Vernichtungszauber geschlachtet und gekocht. Honigkuchen und Gerstenbrei dienen als opfermus, den die Vrātya offenbar Verzehren. Sie haben primitive Begleit-und Einladungssprüche, obwohl nicht die brahmanischen, rezitiern einstudierte Reden, schreien einander laut (scheltend ?) Zu (der Gesang ist von Baudh aus dem oben angegebenen Grunde auch hier nicht behandelt—(अभिक्रोशन्ति). ......P. 124—...In einer Zeit, als es noch Keine strenge orthodoxie gale. mag es wohl so gewesen sein, dass verschiedene Richtungen mehr oder weniger gleich berechtigt nebeneinander hergingen; in sofern war der Anspruch der vrātya wohl historisch berechtight. Abar sobald in Karuksetra der neue, bald orthodox werdende Ritus entstanden war, wurde die Riehtung der Vrātya Mehr und mehr verketzert und zu ihrer Aekehrung der in *TMB*) XVII.1) Vrātya unterziehen musste, der als wirklicher Brāhmane, nicht nur als Brahmabandhu gelten wolte.

accordance with the sixty-one day rite. These food potencies were required for the upkeep of the people who were known as Vrātyas.

That the Vrātyas were a people and not a mystic element is evident from the *Śrautasūtras*. Their social organisation is well defined therein. Among the Vrātyas, who happens to the basest, richest and the most well behaved (devoted to learning) should be installed in the position and dignity of a house-holder[19]. They should eat the remainder of his food[20]. The equipments and properties of the Vrātyas have also been indicated. The Vrātyas are said to have moved out towards the tribes[21]. Strong drink is said to have followed him[22]. The drink was made of barley or rice (wine or *Surā*). It may have been " *Dhanyo - Rasāḥ* "[23]. Wine or strong drink is prepared out of rice even today in Chotanāgpur area of Bihar. It was probably a sort of beer. In those days, *Soma* was the best nourishment of god and *Surā* of men[24]. These evidences go to prove that the Vrātyas were a people residing in some parts of eastern India. The difficulty, with regard to the identity of the Vrātya, has been created on account of the fact that the Vrātya has been exalted into a cosmic power. The Vrātyas were eastern tribes roaming about in bands on rough wagons covered with boards in a rather war-like fashion, owners of cattle[25], having their own peculiar customs and religious cults and their own social organisation.

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[19] *KSS*—XXII. 4. 8
Cf. *Der Vrātya*—p. 58 ff—; *TMB* XVII. 1–4; XXIV. 18; *LSS*—VIII. 6; *KSS* XXII. 4. 1–28; *ASS*—XXII. 5. 4–14; *BSS*—XVIII. 24–26; *SSS*—XIV. 69–72.

[20] *Ibid*—XXII. 4. 9 (No. 8 of Kāśī *edn.*)—
"इतरे व्रात्यागृहपतेर्भक्षं सोमादिकं भक्षयन्त असीरन। यजमानचमसादिकं प्रथमं गृहपतिर्भक्षयति, पश्चादितरे भक्षयन्तीत्यर्थः।

[21] *AV*—XV. 9. 1

[22] *Ibid*—XV. 9. 2—Griffith (*op. cit.*) translates it as wine.

[23] *Ibid*—II. 25. 5—it is translated by some as juice of corn.

[24] *TB*. 1. 3. 2. 2. Muṇḍa-Kol zones of ancient languages have been preserved.

Uneven development was a characteristic feature of the social developoment of the Vrātyas. It was a feature even of the social life of the early Vedic peoples themselves. Some of them moved forward. They developed contempt for those who were left behind. Those who led the Vrātya life were base because they did not till the soil nor engage themselves in trade. It is thus crystal clear that these were questions of technological development rather than matters of religious observances. They lived in tribal societies. They were, no-doubt, Vedic people. Those who reached a higher stage of social development were naturally, therefore, differentiated from those still left in the tribal stage. The *TMB* is full of contempt for the Vrātyas and it has been suggested that at a remote age all the ancestors of the Vedic people were living in *Vrātas* (or hordes). According to Sāyana there was very little difference between *Gaṇa* and *Vrāta* (on *RV*. X. 34. 12) and both the terms indicated tribal collective life. The general condemnation of the Vrātyas is due to their collective way of living. We have in the *RV* a reference to the *Rāja-prathama* of the *Vrātas* and *Senāni* of the Gaṇas. The *Ekavrātyā* assumes immense importance in the *AV* and is compared with the Supreme Being of the *purāṇas*. Sāyana explained that this description applied only to the holy Vrātya. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to agree with the assertion that " the condemnation of the Vrātyas as nonagriculturists only implies that non-aryans did not practise the art of ploughing in the aryan manner". (*Enquiry*–No. 4-P. 15). The Vrātya hymns are not tainted with non-aryan practises. They have been made to look like that because of their curious ways of living. They were excluded and were not to be taught the Vedas, nor allowed to officiate in the sacrifices and social intercourse with them was strictly forbidden. The *TMB* clearly tells us that when the gods rose up to the heavenly world, some of their dependents were left behind only to live the Vrātya life. That gives an indication of the technological advance of some of the Vrātyas who proceeded ahead leaving others in the tribal stage.

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[25] Winternitz—*History of Sanskrit Literature*, vol I, 154.

Cf. *CR* (1924) p. 287—Winternitz does not agree with Chattopadhyaya's views (*op. cit*—P. 306 fn.). No authentic conclusion can be presented in the present state of our knowledge. For detailed discussion of Chattopādhyāya's views, see the last chapter.

II

VRĀTYASTOMA

The importance of the Vrātyastoma in the then social set up can be gleaned through the contemporary literature and other sources. Had the Vrātyas not belonged to a particular tribe of some eminence, there was no necessity of the prescription of rites for their incorporation into the Brāhmaṇic Order. The very fact, that the *AV* exalts them, is an indication of the fact that they held important position in the land where the fourth *Veda* was compiled. The *Niṣādas* and the *Vrātyas* had the right to perform sacrifices and learn the necessary sacrificial hymns and formulae[26]. Pāṇini's division of Śūdras into '*Niravasita*' and '*Aniravasita*' indicates that certain degraded Śūdras with uncleanly habits like the Niṣādas were forced to reside outside the village or town. In the *AV*, blessings are invoked on the aryan as well as the Śūdras. The ancient practice *of the Vrātyastoma, described fully in the* TMB, shows that not only the individuals but whole tribes were absorbed into Hinduism.[27] One fails to understand what

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[26]. Shamshāstri—*Evolution of Indian Polity*—P. 151.

[27] Radhakrishnan—*The Hindu View of Life.* p. 38

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Sir Radhakrishnan means when he uses the term "*Hinduism*" in connection with the Vrātyastoma rites. No such term was in use then. Dange[28] believes that the procedure of adoption in Gaṇa, of a stranger either single or in groups, is called Vrātyastoma in the yajña ritual. It was through this process that the strangers were admitted into the economic and social life of the commune.

The Vrātyastoma, no doubt, indicates a vigorous movement.[29] It was a simple affair. It allowed much latitude to it performer. From a *Commentary* on Kātyāyana (1. 1. 14), we learn that the Vrātyastoma sacrifice could be performed in ordinary fire or *Laukika Agni*. It could be performed with such ingredients as could be obtained in each locality.[30] There were four kinds of Vrātyastomas.[31] The cultural leaders of the Vrātyas were entitled to the first kind of the Vrātyastoma.[32] Those, who lived by violence and were ex-communicated had to perform the rites of second order.[33] Those, who had not yet developed criminal habits and were youngsters, had to perform rites of the third order.[34] According to Pāṇini, there existed some sort of juvenile groups amongst the Vrātyas.[35] The elders were entitled to the rites of the fourth order.[36] The *TMB* prescribed Vrātyastoma in four different forms. The dependants of the Vrātyas received *Soḍastoma* (xvii-1.4).

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[28] S. A. Dange—*India from Primitive Communism to Slavery* p. 85. Cf. *KSS*—XXII. 4. 2—व्रात्यगणस्य…

[29] *KSS*. XXII. 4. 26; XXII. 4. 29–30 (Kāśī *edn*) व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा व्रात्यामावाद्विरमेयुः । व्यवहार्या भवन्ति ।

[30] *Ibid*—XXII. 2. 22.

[31] *Ibid*—XXII. 4. 1.

[32] *Ibid*—XXII. 4. 3 "This training is imparted to musicians and dancers".

[33] *Ibid*—XXII. 4. 4.

[34] *Ibid*—XXII. 4. 5—Cf. *PB*-XVII. 3. 2.

[35] Pāṇini—VI. 2. 28 Cf. Agrawal—*op. cit*. 442

[36] *KSS*—XXII. 4. 6

A more detailed account of the Vrātyastoma is gleaned through the *PB.* The Maruta was asked by Gods to deliver the stoma to those who were leading the Vrātya life.[37] Who were these people ? Those persons, leading the life of a joined group, destitute and practising neither the study of the *Vedas,* nor trade nor agriculture, were called Vrātyas.[38] These persons were considered unequal[39] but were made equal by the Vrātyastoma. All of them were firmly established. The wealth bestowing god established them among the deities.[40] They are believed to be guilty and unworthy before initiation. After initiation, they transfer their guilt and unworthiness and then become qualified to take part in the sacrifice or the *Aṅgas.*[41] The Vrātyastoma, with six sixteen versed, should be performed by those who lead a Vratya life.[42] The Vrātyastomas deliver them from bad fortune.[43] In that the Agnistoma is twentyone versed.[44] Two sixteen-versed stomas[45] should be performed by those, who, being the youngest, lead a Vrātya life. In that the Pavamānas are nine versed[46] and the Agnistoma is twentyone versed.[47] The *PB* further refers to sixty one day rite of the Vrātya.[48]

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37. *PB*—XVII. 1. 1.
38. *Ibid*—XVII. 1. 2.
39. *Ibid*—XVII. 1. 5.
40. *Ibid*—XVII. 1. 10—This should be taken for *Agnistoma Sāman.*
41. *Ibid*—XVII. 1. 16.
42. *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 1.
43. *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 2.
44. *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 3.
45. *Ibid*—XVII. 3. 1.
46. *Ibid*—XVII. 3. 2.
47. *Ibid*—XVII. 3. 4.
48. *Ibid*—XXIV. 18. 1—Cf.—*Details = in Der Vrātya* pp. 56–82;

The authorities, cited above, reveal to us that the Vrātyas are not to be taught the Vedas, nor is anyone to officiate at their sacrifice and there is to be no social intercourse with them. They are '*Sāvitrīpatita*'[49] and for them the Vrātya-stoma has been prescribed. Visvarupa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (III. 262) holds the view that the Vrātyastoma is to be performed for him whose *upanayana* is not held in right time. The Ṣoḍasastoma of the *PB* is employed in each of the four Vrātyastomas :—

(i) first of which is meant for all the Vrātyas.
(ii) the second for those who are *abhiśapta* (wicked and lead a Vrātya life).
(iii) for those who are youngsters.
(iv) for very old persons.

The Vrātyas were rough in their ways and lax as regard food.[50] It is likely that the real origin of the Vrātya is now lost in the mist of antiquity, Katyāyaṇa says : "Having performed the sacrificial rites after Vrātyastoma, they should desist from the Vrātya way of life.[51]" They should cease to be Vrātya and become eligible for social intercourse with

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83–84; 85 ff.

Cf Der *Vrātya*—p. 84—"Man muss sich also die Vrātya mitihrem phantastischen Aufzug als innerhalle oder doch in der Nähe des opferbereiches anwesend und da und dort an gewissen stellen von der Ferne an der opferhandlung teilnehmend denken bis sie, nachdem sie ihre Ausrustung abgetan haben, am Finale des ganzen opfers als Gereinigte teilnehmen."

[49] *Manu*—II. 38–39; XI. 191; *Yājñ*—I. 37–38; *AGS*. 1. 19. 5–7 *BGS*–III. 13. 5–6; *ADS*–1. 1. 1.22; *Vaśiṣṭha* XI. 71–75; VDS–54. 26.

[50] P. V. Kane—*History of the Dharmaśāstras*—Vol II- Pt. I.p.386.

[51] *KSS*. XXII. 4.29. (Kāśī *edn.*); *PGS* II. 5.— "for such persons, he, who desires to have the sacrament performed on them, should perform the sacrifice of Vrātyastoma and then may indeed study the Veda."

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the orthodox aryans. Sāyana perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the Vrātya in the *AV*. He held that the description was applied not to all Vrātyas but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy Vrātya who was not in the good book of the Brāhmaṇas.

In the *Vrātyatāprāyaśchitanirṇaya* and the *Vrātyatāśuddhisaṅgrah* provisions have been made for the purification of the Vrātyas even after twelve generations. Lengthy and trying penances of twelve years have been prescribed for purification and it has been further suggested that the Vrātyastoma is to be performed in ordinary fire. These two texts quote profusely from the ancient texts. The importance of these two texts lies in the fact that the problem of the Vrātyas continued to be discussed, through the ages, by scholars as late as the late mediaeval period. The problem haunted the minds of the scholars to such an extent that they compiled various texts simply to interpret the ancient works regarding the methods of purification of the Vrātyas. The Vrātyas are those who are ex-communicated and not the Brāhmaṇas.[52]. Non-Brāhmaṇas are Vrātyas and they can claim entry into the Brāhmanical society after due purification on the basis of prescribed methods[53]. Three generations (grandfather, father and son) could be purified together[54].

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[52] *Vrātyatāprāyaśchitanirṇaya*, p. 15; Cf p. 18 where it is ssid — 'अयं न-ब्राह्मण—' about the Vrātyas.

[53] *Vrātyatāsuddhisaṅgraha*—p. 2

—(a) व्रात्या व्रात्यस्तोमादृते—क्रतोः

—(b) व्रात्या भवन्त्यार्यविगर्हिताः—

—(c) पतित साविवित्रिक उद्दालक व्रतञ्चरेत...व्रात्यस्तोमेनवायजेद्वा यजेत् ।

—(d) p. 5—व्रात्यस्तोम कृतेसति सर्वधर्माधिकारिणो निष्पापाः शुद्धा । अत्र त्रिपुरुषं पतितसाविवित्रिका पत्यत्वं व्रात्यस्तोमे निमितं तत्र त्रिपुरुषाधिक पतित-सवित्रीकत्वेऽपि सहस्रे शतमितिवत्रिपुरुष पतित साविवित्रिका पत्यत्वं भवदेवति चतुरादीनां पतित सावित्रीकत्वेऽपि व्रात्यस्तोमानुष्ठानं भवतीति 'एन्द्राग्नं पुनरूत्सृष्ट मालभेतय आतृतीयात्सोमं न पिवेत्'...

[54] *Ibid*—p. 7—for details, we have the following statement on p. 13. श्रुत्यध्ययनन्तु न भवेदेवस्माती कर्मानुष्ठान एव तस्याधिकारो भवति ।

Vrātyatā ordinarily means failure to have *Upanayana* performed at the right period. It is in this sense that the Vrātya has been taken to mean in the *Śāstras* and *Sūtras*. The Vrātyas have been equated with *Patitasāvitrika*, and the penances, prescribed, are the *Vrātyastoma* and *Uddalakavrata*. The *Agnipurāṇa*[55] prescribes a milder penance of three *Kṛcharras* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. The Vrātyastoma is also called a *ekāh-yajña.*[56] The *Sūtra* works are definite on the point that the Vrātyas never had the chance of performing the *Upanayanas Saṁsakāra*[57] and that is why they were called *Sāvitrīpatita*[58]. On the question of *Prāyaśchitta*, all authorities are unanimous[59]. Vedavyāsa, Yājñavalkya and Baudhāyana prescribe the Vrātyastoma only for those who are *Patitasāvitrakas*.

In connection with the description of Rudra, we have seen that the whole sacrifice was once with the Asuras and it was taken away by Gods[60]. Rudra, the "*hunter*" attained supremacy and was called the mighty god[61]. Gods, having expelled the Asura, ascended the world of heaven[62]. The Vrātyastoma reminded the Vrātyas of their consciousness of having sprung from different sources. They differed from the *Tṛtsu-Bharatas* in not being Brāhmaṇical in culture[63] and differing in speech and manners. It was the *Sodaşastoma* that enabled them to attain the supreme status. They were respected almost like gods in certain quarters whatever be their incapacity to be religious teachers and whatever life they lead. They were highly venerated in ancient India[64].

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[55] *Agnipurāṇa*—170. 8–9.

[56] Kane—*op. cit.*—Vol IV. p. 62 fn.

[57] *Āpast.* 1.1, 1.22, 1.1.2.10; *PGS*—II. 5; *Baudhāyana* 1. 9.15.

[58] *AGS*—1.19, 5–7; *BGS*—III. 13. 5–6; *ADS* 1.1.1.22; *Vaśiṣṭha*—XI. 75; *Manu* II. 38-39; *Yāj.* 1.37–38

[59] *Manu*—XI. 91; *VDS*—54.26—He prescribes a milder *prāyaśchitta.*

[60] *PB*—VIII. 6.5.

[61] *Ibid*—XIV. 9.12.

[62] *Ibid*—VIII. 9.15.

[63] *Ibid*—XVII. 1.9; Cf. *SB*. III. 2. 1, 23. 24–refers to the barbarism in speech which was to be avoided. Cf. R. K. Mookherjee—*Ancient Indian Education,* p. 139—thinks that

The word "*base*" and "*censured*", with reference to the Vrāyastoma in the *PB* (XVII. 2.1) has been explained by R. R. Bhāgwat[65] as "guilty of man slaughter . . . . these having fled from justice or being condemned to banishment, after passing some years among alien races, naturally yearned to return to their kith and kin." The question, then, that occurs to our mind is—whether the Vrātyastoma was a rite of readmission or conversion ? The cattle played an important part in this rite. This peculiar ceremony was performed by a large number of the Vrātyas as *yajamānas*[66]. Their sins could be dispelled only by four times repeating the sixteen stomas. It was the cattle that led base to superiority[67]. Cattle formed a major portion of their wealth. Vrātyastoma of the second order was not a rite for readmission but a special rite by which the easterners were admitted into the fold of orthodox Brāhmaṇism[68].

In the Vrātyastoma section of the *PB*, we get an insight into the thorny question of the identification of the Vrātyas,

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these barbarisms were probably characteristics of the Vrātyas. Cf. *Der Vrātya*—pp. 171–174.

[64] Aiyangar—*op. cit*, p. 74.

[65] R. R. Bhagwat—*op. cit*—p. 360

[66] *PB*—VI. 9.24; XVII. 1. 7 (Commentary)

[67] *Ibid*—XVII. 2. 4.

[68] A. Banerjeesāstri—*Asura India*—p. 71.
—First Vratyastoma meant readmission for the degraded.
—Third Vrātyastoma meant readmission for such persons who stayed with the Vrātyas and were completely denationalised—
—fourth Vrātyastoma meant readmission for the old.
Cf *PB*—XVII. 3. 1; R. R. Bhāgwat *op. cit*. 360–62

the details of which we shall take into account in the last chapter. Some sort of connection between the two types of people is indicated in this connection. Those adherents of gods, who were left behind, were found leading a Vrātya way of life and hence the necessity of converting them to the fold of gods. The Marutas delivered the passage in *anustubha* metre. The matter is settled as soon as they accept the Vrātyastoma. Unless these groups were not very powerful, what was the necessity of converting them to a particular mode of living? The Vrātyas, probably original inhabitants of eastern India, did not like to give up their own national habits even when they came into contact with the westerners. When they found that their progress was being checked by these easterners, they possibly invented a sacrament for converting them. The ultimate result was that the eastern Vrātya of Magadha influenced the Vedic preachers. This influence is perceptible in more than one sphere of life and culture. The *AV* makes Vrātya a well known figure. At the end of the festival, by which the Vrātyas were converted, they used to hand over their apparel and utensils to other Vrātyas or an inferior Brāhmaṇa of Magadha, who bears away the defect inherent in them. Since the Magadhans did not conform to the orthodox rules, there is a definite contempt for them in the *Sūtra* period: A *Māgadha* is prescribed for an undignified rite[69] and also in the Vrātyastoma[70]. The recent excavations at Kausambi throw some interesting sidelights on the history of the Vrātyas. The procedure of *Śyenanāga* shows certain peculiar features which are conspicuous by their absence in that of the *Śyenaciti.* The priests engaged in the *Śyeranāga* are to be selected from the Vrātyas [70A] and they are required to wear deep red turbans

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69. *JB*—II. 404.

70. Oldenberg—*Buddha*—P. 400 *fn.*

70. (a) *LSS.* VIII. 5.1 व्रातीनानांयौधानां पुत्राननूचानां नृत्विशो वृणीतश्येनस्य; Also G. R. Sharma—*Excavations at Kausambi* (1960) PP. 137–138.

and clothes (*LSS*. VIII. 5.8; *KSS*. XXII. 87; *ĀŚV. ŚR*. III. 7.4; *AP. ŚR*. XXII. 4.23). In this rite the *Yupas* are made of *Tilvaka* or *bādhaka* trees (*KSS* XXII. 81). The *Dakṣiṇā* consisted of animals with bodily defects (*KSS*–XXII. 91; *LSS*–VIII. 5.16). It was *Ekaḥ* or one day-sacrifice (*KSS*. XVII. I. *PB* XVI.XIX). Thus it appears that for all types of undignified work, a Vrātya was selected. A Vrātya was usually treated with contempt by the so-called orthodox people. It is no wonder, therefore, to infer that Vrātya sources have been destroyed by them.

The main object of the Vrātyastoma was to attain prosperity. The ceremony transformed them into *Dvijas*.[71] The Vrātyastoma was a part and parcel of the then social system. Between the period of the *PB* and the *Śrautasūtras*, the practice of the Vrātyastoma seems to have gone out of use because we find that Lāṭyāyana fails to bring out clearly the significance of the term. The *Sūtrakāras* do not seem to have been clear on the actual meaning and significance of the *Vrātyadhana*.[72] They also fail to make any distinction between the various kinds of the Vrātyastomas and mix them up in a strange manner. In this respect, Kātyāyana is more explicit in the sense that he, at last, succeeds in clearly enunciating the purpose of the *Stoma*. Kātyāyana calls the *Stoma* '*Gaṇayajñaḥ*'[73]. Kātyāyana requires a *Gṛhapati* for all the four kinds of Vrātyastoma.

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[71] *LSS*—VIII. 5. 29.

[72] *Ibid*—VIII. 6. 28—सर्वं एव व्रात्या पूर्वोक्तानि व्रात्यधनानि दद्युः; Cf. *KSS* (K)—XXII. 4. 24.

[73] *KSS* (Kāśī *edn.*) XXII. 4—चत्वारो व्रात्यस्तोमा गणयज्ञाः In the *KSS* (K) we have got a different reading. Cf. XXII. 4.2 where we have व्रात्यगणः । The association of the Vrātyas with *Gaṇa* is very remarkable. There seems to have been some sort of loose democratic and republican element in their organisation. Marxist scholars like Kosambi, Chattopadhyay, Dange and others are divided over the interpretation of the term.—'Gaṇa' and *Gaṇayajñaḥ*.

C. B. Sen has recently published an article on the Vrātyas in the *JOI* (XII p. 288 ff). Deriving Vrātya from Vrāta (meaning group) he suggests that the Vrātyastoma should mean stoma for the people who belonged to the Vrāta (a tribal organisation). It differs from all other Vedic rituals in the sense that in the Vrātyastoma all the people led by their chief are *yajamānas*. He is of opinion that the entire Vedic people were Vrātyas. The Vrātyastoma was an adoption ceremony by which an entire Vrāta was converted. The whole question centres round the vexed theory of the derivation of the Vrātya from Vrāta. There is no doubt about it that the Vrātyas have always been taken as groups. Their association with *Gaṇa* and *Vrāta* is worth investigating. That they led the life of joined group is evident from the *TMB*. Calland's note on *TMB* (XVII, 1. 1) may be interpreted in a different way. *Gaṇayajñāth*, referred to above, may indicate that in the Vrātyas' scheme of life, labour was collective. The Commentators of the Vedas and allied Vedic literatures have tried to prove that the Vrātyastoma was just a religious ceremony for *Sāvitrīpatitas*. A critical study of the *TMB* reveals to us the hollowness of such propositions. As I have said above, the Vrātyas formed a very powerful group within the Vedic society with definite totems of their own. We learn from the *Jaimini Brāhmaṇa* (II. 26) that in the Vrātyastoma of the *Aiṣīkapāvas*, Kauṣitaki (author of *Kauṣitaka Brāhmaṇa* of the *Ṛgveda*) acted as *Gṛhapati*.

—We have a reference to the '*Stoma*' in the early vedic literature. Cf. *BD*—1,115; II. 1—where Śākaṭāyana says that to Indra belonged the two *stomas*, that which is called the fifteenfold (*Pañcadaśa*) and that which is three times nine in number (*triṇava*), Cf. *Nirukta*. VII. 10; *BD* II. 15.

B.D.—II. 1—आह चैवास्य द्वौ स्तोमाव आश्रयौ शाकटायनः
यश्च पञ्चदशो नाम्ना संख्यया त्रिणवश्चयः ॥

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Whatever might have been the importance of the Vrātyastoma in the later period, it appears that the ceremony during the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* had some socio-economic importance. The ceremony, in some form or other, seems to have been prevalent during the early period of the Vedic society when its structure was mainly tribal. The *Aiṣīkapāvas* suggest that the name itself is totemic and indicate that they were associated with the Divine monkey. In the early Vedic period, when the means of production had not sufficiently developed, the tribes (with their own chiefs) conducted their functions without any priest. With the growth of political power, tribal[73(A)] societies vanished and attempts towards centralisation were made. The *AV* has correctly maintained the tradition about the Vrātyas and the *TMB* about the Vratyastoma. In the tribal society, mode of development differed and while some made progress, others lagged behind. It was the low economic status that was responsible for the condemnation of those Vrātyas who were left behind. Religious stigma was attached to them later on. The fact that the Vrātyas were the followers of Śiva (Rudra) also[73(B)] suggests that they were tribals and the ceremony of initiation for the whole tribe was not unknown. Tribalism was a peculiarity of all the ancient societies and Vrātyas were no exceptions.

The Vrātyastoma was a great social movement headed by those who wanted to bring about a change in the outlook of the eastern Vrātyas. Their nomadic habits were not much to the liking of those who had a settled life and a definite religious structure. They, therefore, propounded a system of the Vrātyastoma through which the entire horde of the eastern Vrātyas were converted. It was only after conversion that they ceased to be Vrātyas and were entitled to mix with others on equal footing. The Vrātyastoma was probably a

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73(a). L. H. Morgan — *Ancient Society*-pp. 80-81.

73(b). M. Bloomfield — The *Atharvaveda*-(1899) p. 94.

means of mass conversion though some scholars believe that it was simply a form of re-admission into the old system. Since there was a movement towards centralisation and expansion of political power in the later Vedic period, it was considered by the expansionists to be a matter of great political importance to bring these roving bands of the Vrātyas under control. For these reasons, they initiated the Vrātyastoma rite. Through this rite, the Vrātyas were brought into their fold and along with them were acquired vast lands and other properties which accounted for the accumulation of power in the hands of the later Vedic kings. This was one of the factors that led to the growth of royal power in the later period[73C].

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73 (c) Also Cf *the Mahāvrāta rites*—

The *Mahāvrata* ceremony was a part of the ceremony of Gavāmayana. The companions of the Vrātyas in the *Mahāvrata* cermony are the *Māgadhas* and *Pumśchali*. The ceremony is well described in the *AV* (XV). The *Maha·vrata* is like the *Soma* ceremony. *Hota* is in the centre here (For details—Cf *Der Vrātya*—p. 246 ff)

Der Vrātya—P. 179—Rv. VIII, 48, 8 erklāren sich die heiligen Sänger für des königs Soma Vratyāh. In der Taitt. S. 1, 8, 10, 2, stlht Vratya neben Vrāta...

P. 180—Diese Bildung ist der vorigen anolog; denn auch dort haben wir die Reihe Vrata, Vratya, Vrātya, so dass also beidemal Vrātya bedeutet,, Zu Vrata in Bezeichung stehend, wenn auch die genauere Bedeutung der beiden Vrātya verschieden ist. (*ASS* IX, 2, 1; IX, 4,15
य आहिताग्निः सन्नव्रत्यमिव चरेत प्रवसेदवा…
X, 17, 8; *VS*. 1,5; *TB* 1, 7, 4, 3; *KB*, 27, 3; *K*SS, VIII, 7, 23; XII, 2, 12)

Ob allerdings Vrātya in der Vrātyastoma und im XV. Buch des Atharvaveda grammatisch in der von Haradatta angenommenen Weise von vrata, Vratya abzuleiten ist,

III

Religion and Philosophy

Whatever be the nature of the religion of the Vrātyas, it was probably felt by the expanding aryans in the later vedic period that along with the stern political measures, the religious and social susceptibilities of the Vrātyas should also be decried as irrelevant and meaningless. Hauer has shown that the Vrātyas were a class of heterodox nomadic holy men, whose practices included sympathetic magic, exorcism, ritual dancing and cursing their opponents. We have already discussed the importance of the order and sect of the Vrātyas. The religion of the Vrātyas is intimately connected with their roving habits and character and hence it needs a separate treatment.

The Vrātyas believed in ghosts, witches, sorcerers, demons of all descriptions and the ministration of priests consisted chiefly in pronouncing of set spells and charms. *Sūtas* and *Māgadhas* played an important part in their religious life and belief. According to the *Pṛthu - Vaiṇya* legend[74], *Sūta* and *Māgadha* sprang out of the first consecrated monarch. They are specially designed to sing the praises and to act

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bleilet zu erwägen. Immerhin darf nicht überschen werden, dass Hardatta Vrātya in AV XV……

P. 181—Hardatta hat dies gewusst, denner sagt, dass mit dem in V. 15 gemeinten "Brāhmaṇa" ein zum AV gehöriges Stück gemeinten sei (also eben AV 11-13). Er hat also den Vrātya in AV XV in eins gesetzt mit dem im heiligen Dienste wandern Atithi des AP. Dh. S. II. 3. 6.

Cf pp. 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192.

P. 197. FN.—; 204, 205 fn, 208;

P. 210 (Cf Bhattikāvya—IV. 12); P. 212, 213 (All for Vrata, Vrāta, Vrātina and Vrātya)

pp. 218 ff—for *Savitrapatita*

P. 220—ff—P. 244 ff—.

[74] *VP*—62. 138-39.

as the bardic repositories of the annals and chronicles of imperial dynasties founded by *Pṛthu.* They chronicled similar histories of the *Devas, Ṛṣis* and important people[75]. The *Sūtas* also followed a number of inferior position and professions, *e. g.*, of soldiers, chariot drivers, healers of bodily ills etc.[76] The *Sūta* is also the name of a court official (one of the eight *Vīras*) who sustains the king at his *Ekāha - Sattra*[77] and one of the eleven *Ratnins*[78] at the *Rājasūya* ceremony. *Sūta* is described as a king maker in the *AV*[79]. The *Sūta* is spoken of as *Ahantavya*[80] (inviolable). The *Sūta* had a great respect in ancient India and the *Sūta-Māgadhas* and their ministrations consisted chiefly, according to the parts of the country of which they were natives, in pronouncing the set-spells and charms. The Vrātyas practised exorcism and ordained elaborate expiatory rites for the sins real as well as imaginary. The kings and the nobles often held discussions on cosmogonic and theosophic subjects, which they did not impart to the common people, since they were treated as esoteric science.[80(a)]

Since various types of aboriginal tribes were included in the ranks of the Vrātyas, they had a sort of republican

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75. *Ibid.*—1. 31-32–See Vrātya's concept of history.
76. *Ibid.*—62.140.
77. *PB*—XIX. 1.4.
78. *SB*—V. 3.1.5.
79. *AV*. III 5.7.
80. *Taitt. Saṁhita*—IV. 5.2. It has been suggested that the *Sūta* is a *Mahāmati* , just as the *Māgadha* is a *Prajapati*.
80. (a)—cf. *Bṛhadārṇyaka Up.* ; *Der Vratya*. P. 197 *footnote*—Darnach wäre die Bedeutung Von Ujjya . . . . Hier an unserer Stelle entscheidet aber die situation die Bedeutung. Die Gārgī legt dem Yājyñavalkya Zwei Fragen Vor, die Sie einleitet mit den Worten : " Wei ein Heldensohn aus dem Lande der Kāśī oder der Videha Ujjyaṃ dhanur adhijyaṃ Kṛtvā Zwei Rohrpfeile, mit denen er den Gegner durchbohren will, in die Handnimmt undauf ihn losgeht . . . .

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constitution as Patañjali would have us believe[81]. They had no fixed or settled home and as such they could not develop anything useful for the whole of the community. In spite of their being hard workers but of unsettled habits, they could not stabilise thinking for common good. N. N. Ghoṣe says—"In the country of Magadha, of intensified fecundity and death, the gods, that count, are the great Vrātya Gods, who, as the case may be, originate, preserve, or destroy all creatures, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu, Rudra-Mahādeva - Iśāna[82]." It has been pointed out elsewhere that the Vrātyas were non-sacrificers and as such they were different from the aryans. To be initiated into the sacrificial system, they had to pass through the Vrātyastoma rites[83]. It was a collective ceremony in which a *Sthūpati* was a necessity to represent the group. Their dress also was different from that of the aryans. The leader of the Vrātyas, Ekvrātya, drank wine and his various manifestations were Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeva, Iśāna—the gods to whom the Vrātyas paid homage. We have discussed earlier that the admission of Rudra in the Vedic pantheon was not very peaceful. We have to bear in mind here that neither Mahādeva nor his wife was invited to the *Dakṣa-yajña*. Mahādeva was decidedly the most remarkable god of the Vrātyas. In the conception of the *Trinity*, Prajāpati was specially designated as Brahmā to mark his pre-eminence. Popular religion, as reflected in the *Purāṇas*, adopted the *Brahmā - Viṣṇu - Mahādeva* scheme. This trinity has been the cardinal feature even of the present day Hinduism. The sectarian mark on the forehead was

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[81] *Mahābhāṣya*—V. 2.21.

[82] *IALC*—pp. 64-65.

[83] *PB*—XXIV. 18. The great sixty-one day *Sattra* was first performed by Daiva-Vrātya with Buddha as his Ṣthāpati. The *Vrātyas*, in course of a *Satra* ceremony brought disaster by violating the authority of Varuṇa. They were saved by their leader, Buddha.

Lalāma[84], or the *Tripuṇḍa* of the Śaivas. The unstrung bow of the Vrātya has been compared by Hauer with *Daṇḍa* or staff of the orthodox ascetic of later times (op. cit. p. 132).

In the *AV*, the Vrātyas were devotees of Rudra. They were held in high esteem. The theory of *Triguṇavāda* found

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84. Sampurnānanda—*Op. cit.*–3— तदेकभभवत्
तल्ललाम भवत् . . . . cf. *Vrātyatāsuddhisāṅgraha*
P. 25— ,, यद भूमो भवति धूम्रिममाण भेवास्मादपहन्ति ललामो भवति मुखत एवास्मिन तेजोदधाति . . . . .
Cf. *AV.*—(Paippallāda recension)–*Rudra–Iśāna–Mahādeva* identified with *Ekarātya*—अध्यात्मिकं मन्त्रोक्त देवत्याव्रात्यदैवतम् ।
Cf. *Der Vrātya*–P. 307 – Wenn du Von Süden her wehst, wehst du als König Indra . . . . . . Wehst du als Īśānā . . . . Wehst du als König Varuṇa . . . . . wehst du als König Soma . . . . . wehst du als Prajāpati. Du bist der Vrātya, der Eine Vrātya (Ekavrātya) . . . . .
P. 311—Deiser Ekarṣi ist ebenfalls Zum Gott erhoben Worden. *AV.* X, 7, 14, (in einem Liede Über den Skambha als urprinzip, in dem alle wesen, auch die Gotter und Kosmischen Mähte ihren standa und Bestand haben) heist es ! ,, Wo die erstgeborenen Seher (ṛṣi), die Ṛg Verse, das Sāman . . . . . den Skambha erktāremir.
Cf. *BA.*—P. 15; *JB.*–II. 222 calls. Īśāna *Ekavrātya* ; cf. *J. Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*–3.21.
Cf.—*Der Vrātya* – pp. 334 ff.
P. 335—Es ist Verwunderlich, dass die Kauṣitakim, deren Ahn doch sibbst Vrātya Führer gewesen war, das Andenken an die himmlischen Vrātya nicht bewahrt haben. Das alles weist auf einen Gegensatz der meisten Zum Orthodoxen Ritus Sich bekennenden späteren Vedischen Schulen Zu den Vrātya hin und Kann nur so erklärt werden, dass die Menge der Vrātya in der Vedischen Zeit noch bei ihren ligenen Riten blieb unddas Orthodoxe Soma opfer nicht als Zentrabs Mysterium anerkannte.

favour with Vrātyas and some of the basic *formulae* of the *Samkhya* are included therein[85]. The divine Vrātya stands parallel to *Ṛṣi.* The divine Vrātya is acknowledged as heavenly god. (cf. *Der Vrātya* – p. 334 · ff). Only the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda* maintain and preserve the Vrātya tradition of this land. The association of the Vrātyas influenced other movements of eastern India, such as *Ājivikaism, Jainism* and *Buddhism.* A. L. Basham observes — " they (Vrātyas) had some influence upon the Ājivikas. The latter were also given to religious dancing and singing, and their leader had the reputation of a wonder worker whose ready imprecations were most effective in their operation. The Ājivikas also appear to have carried staves[86]." Since the Vrātyas did not go by the orthodox rule, they were hated by the aryans and other orthodox people of the west. It is a paradox to say that those places, denounced by the Brāhmaṇas as land of the Vrātyas and not fit to be visited by the Brāhmaṇas, later on became the headquarters of Buddhism and other heretical sects. The early heretics of eastern India seem to have been largely recruited from the Vrātyas.

For a study of the Vrātya philosophy, we have to take recourse to *Śrutiprava Commentary* of the *AV* as it is here that the philosophical point of view has been clearly set forth. Fortunately for us, the whole commentary, along with the text of the *AV*, has been ably presented and discussed by Sampūrṇānanda in his *Vrātyakāṇḍa.* The Vrātya is called *Ādideva.* Pure souled person is regarded as the origin and the only cause of all things on this earth. Vrātya, as the first god, is described, in details with his generating accomplishments. Their wandering actions are taken as the causes of lively energy, *i. e.*, through their wanderings the dormant energies of the world were released. The earliest reference to "*aprajanita suvarṇa*" (the unborn gold) is remarkable. It is the indiscernible *Pradhāna* of the *Saṁkhya*, which is the cause of the discernible world. The *AV* says—"Prajāpati saw in himself gold, he generated that[87]." The Vrātyas had their own spiritual conception of the universe with different worlds in it and with a presiding deity for each, and they were all under the eternal Vrātya. He pervades the world in various forms as the *Udgātā* fills the universe with his chanting *Sāman* and the sounds of *OM*[88]. The *AV* represents the Vrātya as a wandering *Sādhu*. It refers to some psuedo-Vrātyas or *Vrātyabruvas*[89]. While they are to be driven out, the original Vrātya is to be respected[90]. According to Griffith, the house-holder should punish him quietly by letting him feel that his fraud is detected[91].

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[85] S. N. Das Gupta -- *History of Indian Philosophy*–V. p. 2.

[86] A. L. Basham—*History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas* – p. 8, *fn.* – 1; Cf. *CHI* – I. 146; *Der Vrātya* p. 132.

The Vrātya is called "the only seer, the real lord of life and the father of Mātariśvan in the *Praṇopanishad* (2.11). Saṁkara explains this word as meaning 'uninitiated' because of his being the first born, and there being no one else to initiate him; therefore pure by nature. The fourteenth *Sūkta* (*AV*. XV. XIV) is a repository of esotericism. It is in this very *Sūkta*, that we find the beginning of the problem of *Prakṛti* and *Chetanā*. Here we have the non-duality of the *Pradhāna* or the *Puruṣa*. It is here that the spiritual conception of the Vrātyas has reached its climax. The universe is pervaded with the generating energy and it is one regulated lively body. Some sort of *Prāṇāyāṃ* is indicated

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87. स प्रजापनि सुवर्णमात्मन्नपश्यत् ततप्राजनयत् । *AV*. (XV. 1.2).

88. *AV*. 3.8—सामासाद **उद्गीथोप**श्रय :

89. *Ibid*.—XV. 13.11 - यस्याव्रात्यो **व्रात्यब्रुवो** नामविभ्रत्य तिथिर्गृहानागच्छेत् ।

90. *Ibid*.—XV. 13.12.

91. Griffith—*op. cit*.-195.

in this *Sūkta* as we find here *Ekavrātya* standing erect for a year[92]. The highly mystic thought of this *Sūkta* is indicative of the fact that the Vrātyas were great philosophers and the early traces of their philosophy can be traced to *AV*. VIII.9[92A]. Rudolf Roth minimised the importance of this *Sūkta* and called it useless. The *Annamimāṁśā* was the greatest concern of the Vrātya and an indirect reference to this aspect can be found in the *AV*. (VIII. 9). The fourteenth *Sūkta* of the *AV*. (XV) is the best specimen of Vrātya's mysticism, as the following discussion will prove :—

(i) "*Mana*[93]"—in the fourteenth *Sūkta* refers to "mind, will or resolution".

(ii) " *Bala*[94] "—(strength) refers to the pre-eminent attribute.

(iii) Water ;

(iv) *Āhuti*—offering or sacrifice.

(v) *Viraj*—meaning not clear; moved as Viṣṇu.

(vi) *Oṣadhi*[95]—herbs, moved as Rudra.

(vii) *Svadhā*—and so on.

These terms have been used in connection with the forms and manifestations of *Ekavrātya* and they remind us of the oft quoted Rigvedic stanza—"*Ekaṁsadbiprā bahudā bhavanti*"—(*RV*. - 1.164.46). The theosophic doctrines, enunciated here, are of immense importance for the study of the Vrātya philosophy and religion.

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[92] Does it represent the earliest example of Haṭhayoga ? The three *guṇas* of *Yoga*, as enunciated in the *AV*. (X. 8.43) may be sought in the Vrātya tradition.

[92(a)] *JB*. 1.10.34 definitely states that the Vrātyas, though acquainted with the philosophy of *OM*, were bitter enemies of sacrifice and sacrificial rites.

[93] *AV*.—XV. 14.1. - मनोन्नादं कृत्वा ।

[94] *Ibid*.—XV. 14.3 - बलमन्नदं कृत्वा ।

[95] *Ibid*.—XV. 14.11.

While the *Trayī* only was regarded as sacred in the orthodox scheme of Vedic study, the *Purāṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* have also played a great part in the formation cf Vedic theology. Even a casual but scientific worker in this field will admit that the *Purāṇas* have been greatly influenced by the Vrātya thought and culture. It was in Magadha that the synthesis of different cultures took place. The likelihood of the *AV*., being composed in Magadha, cannot be rejected outright. The Yajamānas also played an important part in this respect. Had the *AV*. not been a purely Vrātya manual, enunciating principles offending the orthodox western section of the aryans, the *AV* would have been easily included in the list of the Vedas.

For a proper understanding of this problem, we have to take into consideration the philosophical system of the Vrātyas. The *Upanishadas* favoured the idea of the renunciation of world. The *Summum bonum* of the *Upanīshad* is that the path to happiness lies in complete renunciation and not in the perpetual hankering. The enjoyment of material happiness creates a desire for more of it and it remains unfulfilled with the result that cravings increase. Hence it is better to hanker after the eternal truth. The idea developed independently and may be ascribed to the *Vrātya Rājanyas*. Rājanya is a term which defies any positive explanation. At the time of creation, *Rājanya* is said to have been the arms of the sacrificed *Puruṣa* or the *Primal man*, who is identified with the universe[96]. He is said to have been generated by Prajāpati[97]. Yajurveda is said to be the womb form which he is said to have been born[98]. In the *AV*,, he is believed to have been born out of passion[99]. It may be held that he was filled with passion.

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[96] *RV*.—X. 90; *AV*. XIX. 6.

[97] *Tatt. Sam.* – VII.1.1; *SB*.–II- 1.4.

[98] *TB*. – III. 12.9.

[99] *AV*. – XV. 8.1.

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In general terminology, *Rājanya* is the oldest designation of a *Kṣhatriya* and royal class. The Brāhmanical literature acknowledges *Kṣhatriya's* right in the basic material of the *Vedānta*[100]. In the early stages of the aryan civilisation, there were no such separate castes as *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣhtrīya* and hence it would not be unreasonable to infer that the reference, in question, alludes to the Vrātya *Rājanya*. The Vrātya *Rājanyas* formed a separate order and they kept their bard priests at a respectable distance and they were called only at the time of the ministration of spells and charms. Vrātya *Rājanya* possessed esoteric knowledge of various doctrines and the aryans, afterwards, accepted the Vrātya faith and beliefs. So far as the *faith* of the Vratyas is concerned, they appear to be free-thinkers, though believing in the various descriptions of Gods. Their highly esoteric religion and religious philosophy had to be so because most of the Vrātyas were intellectually unfit to follow it. The Vrātya god was originator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. It was under the stress of the Upanishadic dialectics that the members of the *Trīnity*, later on, lost their individuality and merged with the *Ātman–Brāhman Vedānta*.

We have seen above that the Vrātyastoma indicated a vigorous movement (*Commentary* on Kātyayaṇa–1.1.14), and could be performed with such ingredients as could be obtained in each locality (*KSS*–XXII. 2.22). Through this working process, the aryans strengthened their position by admitting themselves a vast concourse of men, having different habits, thoughts and modes of living. With their admission there came a change not only in social and political outlook but also in the realm of thought. New ideas came in and all extra-sacrificial ideas can be attributed to this process of assimilation.

There is little doubt that the Vrātyas, even after their conversion, continued to be a vigorous people and with them came the vigorous ideas. The old sacrifices did not attract them nor satisfied their intellectual curiousity. The result was that they began to speculate on the inner meaning of the sacrifices and these bold speculations led to the theories of creation, theories about soul, material body, senses, organs of senses, organs of actions, about vital airs, about the elements of matter, about the nature of the earth, heaven, gods, unity of godhead, unity of spirit and matter, nature of sound, meaning of words, their derivation, pronunciation, change of sounds, about life, vitality, mind, food, cattle and about the whole ranges of human activities. The extra sacrificial ideas of the *Araṇyakas* and the *Upanishads* may be attributed to this grand fusion of the aryans and the Vrātyas.

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[100] *Gitā*. – IX.2.

The most interesting point in the *Kauśitaki Upanishad* is its plenary absolution for the believer which relates it directly to the basic philosophy of the *Bhagwatgitā*. Kṛṣṇa made this cult really important. He was not very famous in the Upanishadic period as he is mentioned only once in the *Chāndogya Upn.*[101]. Kṛṣṇa stands as the divine exponent of the Upnishadic philosophy with strong pragmatic modifications. The *Śvetāśvatara Upn.* emphasises the one - god cult and extols Rudra – Māheśwara. The *Upnishadas* represent the process of assimilation and adoption of foreign ritual as well as philosophy of the indigenous Brāhmaṇas. The main theme of the *Upnishadas* and the *Bhagwatgitā* is the true realisation of supreme deity in essence. The story of *Indra-Vairochana* in the *Chāndogya* is an interesting document. It relates to their visit to Prajāpati for obtaining the knowledge of the *Ātman* (cf. – VII and VIII. The VIIIth *Prapāṭhakas* solely deals with the nature of the soul). The non-Brāhmani-

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[101] *Chandogya* – 3.17.6 – "When Ghora Aṅgirāsa explained this to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devaki", – he also explained "—In the final hour one should take refuge in these three thoughts—you are the *Indestructible*, you are the *unshaken*, you are the very essence of *life* (*Prana*) ".

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cal origin of the theory of the *Ātman* is indicated below[102] :-

— *Chāndogya* - 5. 11. 1 - 5.

—Aśvapati Kaikeyi solving the problem of *Ātman*

"Within my realm there is no thief,
No miser, nor a drinking man,
None altarless, none ignorant
No man unchaste, no wife
unchaste".

(For another Version cf. *S.B.*— 10 . 6 . 1 .).

—*Ibid.* - VII. 1. 4–Dialogue of Nārada and Sanatkumār.

—*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upn.* - VI. 2.8. episode of Āruni and Jaivāli.

—*Ibid.* - II . 4 - the conversation of Yājñavalkya and Maitreyi concerning the pantheistic soul[102a].

—*Kauśitaki Upn.* - IV. 9 - Gārgi Bālaki and Ajātaśatru—gives a progressive definition of *Brahma.*

Hence we have to bear in mind that in all these sources Kṣhatriyas alone claim to possess the knowledge of *Ātman.* Hume says[102B]—"This conspectus of usage furnishes corroboration to the inherent probability that here (in the *Upnishadas*), . . . *the words Brahma and Kṣhatra are class-designations, pregnant, however, with the connotation of the respective qualities* . . . ."

The reference to Māyā as *Prakṛti*[102C] is important in the sense that its existence is to be found in the supreme being.

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102. *Ibid.*

102 (a)–References to this aspect may be found in *RV.*–1.157.2; *AV.* XII. 5.8; XV. 10.2.11 in connection with the Vrātyas); II. 15.4; IX. 7.9; (social classes are emphasised); *VS.* XIX. 5; V. 27; VI. 3; VII. 21; XIV. 24; XVIII. 38; X. 10.12 (with Viś – 'the people'); *AB.*–III. 11; VII. 21; *SB.* 11.4.3. 11.13.

102 (b)–R. E. Hume. *The Thirteen Principal Upnishadas.* P. 99 *fn*

102 (c)–*Śvetāśvatara Upn.* – IV. 9.10.

—"This whole world the illusion maker (*Māyin*) projects

According to Śaṁkara, *Māyā* has no real existence as the *Śakti* aspect of *Brahman*, but Māyā is mere illusion. For Śaṁkara, there is nothing apart from *Brahman* in this world, as he believes in the doctrine of the sole reality of the *Brahman*. Vrātya schools, with the exception of Kāshmir Śaivism, have maintained the reality of the Śakti. The *Śvetāśvatara Upn.* "contains the theism of the *Upanishad* in its most mature form . . . ., The attributes of the supreme soul are often given in very general terms[103]" According to the *Śvetāśvatara Upn.*, by *Māyā - nivṛtti* (cessations from every illusion) one gets salvation[104]. By knowing God, the distress is destroyed, there is a cessation of birth and death, by meditating upon *Him* there is the dissolution of the body and being absolute (Kevala) his desire is satisfied[105]. Nothing higher is to be known and then *Peace* is attained[106]. The gradual rise to pre-eminence of a substratum in the tradition, hostile to the general tone, played a leading part in the development of syncretism. The Vrātya cult and syncretism bring to our memory some of the submerged tradition which survived despite the best efforts of those who tried to nip it in the bud. The Vrātya hymns of the *AV*. record a particular religious practice in which *yoga* played an important part. The *Viṣṇupurāna* (1.6.12) mentions a class of people of very ancient times who were free to live wherever they liked, free from all obligations, pure at heart and blameless in action . . . . They lived in an atmosphere of perfect freedom not circumscribed by conventional dogmas of religious and social usages. *Siṣnadevas* and *Vāmadevas* worship-

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out of this (*Brahma*) And that the mighty Lord (*Māheśwara*) is the illusion maker (Māyin).

—Here *Prakṛti* has been identified with *Māyā*.

[103] *R*. G. Bhandarkar – *Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism*, P. 157.

[104] *Sveta–Up*. – 1.10.

[105] *Ibid*. – 1.11.

[106] *Ibid*. – 4.9.

ped the phallus and had no faith in the Vedas. The *Chāndogya Upn.* describes *Vāmadeva Vratas* and *Vratinas* and takes them as originator of *Kāpālakaism*[106(a)].

The Ekavrātya, later on, developed into Śiva[106b] *or* the *Tesup Hepit* or *Mā Athis* cult of Asia minor, and was infused with serenity and loftiness unparalleled in Indian literature (*RV.* 1.164 – एकं सद्विप्रा वहुधा भवन्ति). Insistence on *Śradhā* or faith is a remarkable feature of the *Vrātyakāṇḍa* of the *AV.* and this can be taken as the precursor of the later *Bhakti* movement. The *Śradhā* is to be based on knowledge. *Mātariśvan* and *Pavamāna* were connected with the Ekavrātya as the horses of his chariot. Ekavrātya became a *Tapaśvī* and practised penance standing for one full year, thus setting forth the system of *yoga.* The whole system of Śāiva worship underwent a complete metamorphosis[106c]. The Vrātya *yogī*

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106 (a)–*A I O C*–VI.–"*The Lokayatikas and the Kāpālikas*" (D.R. Śāstri). Cf. R. K. Choudhary–*Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas*—in the *ABORI* of 1956.

106 (b)–*D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 301-303; cf. *SAIC*–pp. 40-48.

106 (c)–*AV.*–XV. 3.1. स संवत्सरमध्वोंऽतिष्ठत् । It is here that the foundations of early *yoga* and *Sāṁkhya* system were laid. Iśāna and Vāyu are depicted as Ekavrātya (Cf.–*JB.* – II. 222; *JB. Upn.*. – III. 21; *SB.*–VIII. 7.2.12; *AV.*–XV. 2 ff.; *Praśn. Upn.* II. 11 where Vrātya is called greatest among the gods; *Der Vrātya* P. 310 ff.). The *Vrātyasūkta* must have been composed at a time when Prajāpati was aspiring to become head of these communities as a rival of Vrātyadeva. Some of the Vrātya leaders might have sided with Prajāpati. These persons were possibly those who were converted after the Vrātyastoma rite. Even after their conversion, the Vrātya kept heir traditional *Lalāma*. *Lalāma* is synonymous with the famous Śaiva insignia (*Tri*) *puṇḍa*. The whole of the *Kālāgnirudropanishad* is full of praise and the description of the magnificent conception of the *Puṇḍra*.

had seven vital airs and seven downward breaths. Śiva is depicted as yogī par excellence.

The system of the *Pāśupatas* held the field considerably for a long period in our history and influenced the contemporary life and thought to such an extent that even the *Śvetāśvatara Upn.* and the *Ātharvaśiras Upn.* have faithfully maintained their account. *Śaivism* had become a popular faith in the Brāhmaṇical period. Śiva as Paśupati came to be a recognised fact in the *AV.* The *Śvetāśvatara Upn.* recognises certain philosophical systems like *Paśu*, *Pāśa* and so on. The *Śāntiparva* mentions *Pāśupata* as one of the five systems of philosophy[107]. Śiva, husband of Umā and lord of the *Bhūtas*, proclaimed the *Pāśupata* system[108]. The whole system of the *Pāśupata* has been enunciated in the MBH.[109].

—For an interpretation of the *Praśnopn* II. 11. cf. *Der Vrātya*, p. 310.

Cf. *P. 311*—Auch in der Cūlika Up. taucht der Vrātya als Urprinzip auf, und Zwar neben höchst ehrwirdigen, die uns in der Hohe der mystischen spekulation begeynan wie brahman, Skambha, rohita, prāṇa, puruṣa und solchen, die dem rituellen Bereich entstammen wie der Brahmacārin, ja neben solchen aus der primitiven sphare uie anaḍuh und ucchiṣṭa , ... Nur eins ist darans Zu entnehmen, dass man den Vrātya, der ün Av XV besungen urrd, in dieser Upniṣad unbedenklich Zu den hochsten Vosmischen Prinzipien rechnete, obwohl sein irdisches Gegenstück doch schon Zu der Zeit als verfluchter Ketzer galt.

[107] Five systems were– (i) *Sāṁkhya*, (ii) *Yoga*. (iii) *Pañcarātra*; (iv) *Vedas* and (v) *Pāśupata*; Cf. *MBH*. XII. 349, verses 64, 67.

[108] *MBH* – XII. 208.95. Śiva promulgated the *Pāśupata* Vrata. Cf. S. N. Das Gupta – *History of Indian philosophy* – Vol. V.

[109] Description of the *Pāśupata* ascetics in the *Anuśāsanaparva*.

तेन संदिग्ध सर्वाङ्गा भस्मना ब्रह्मचारिणः
जटिला मुण्डिता वाऽपि नानाकार शिखण्डिनः ।
विकृता पिङ्गलाभिश्च नग्नानाना प्रकारिणः
भैक्षं चरन्तः सर्वत्र निःस्पृहा निष्परिग्रहः ।

There were distinctions between *Śrauta* and *Aśrauta Pāśupatas*. The *Śrauta* was followed by the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Aśrauta* by the non-Brāhmaṇas after the emergence of *Lakuliśa Pāśupatas*[110]. *Pāśupatas* are frequently mentioned in the *Purāṇas*[111]. The *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja speaks of four classes of *Śaiva* – *Kāpāla*, *Kālamukha*, *Śaiva* and *Pāśupata*[112].

Śaṁkara is his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedāntasūtras* (2.2.37) refers to the *Pāśupatas* simply as *Māheśvaras*, followers of the system propounded by Śiva[113]. Vācaspati refers to them in his *Bhāmatī*[114]. He explains *Māheśvaras* as referring to the four Śiva sects including the *Pāśupatas*, but his interpretation of *yoga* and *Vidhi* is based on Pāśupata texts[115]. The *Atharvaśiras Upn.* is the main source of information on this point. The Gods went to heaven and asked Rudra who he was ? He replied that he alone was, was in all Quarters, in *Gāyatrī*, men and women . . . . became invisible to them". The Gods raised arms and prayed—"He who is *Rudra*, *Māheśvara*, *Umā*, *Skanda*, *Vināyaka*, the *Sun* etc." One *Rudra* is *Iśāna*, *Bhāgavata*, *Māheśvara* and *Mahādeva*[116]. For the knowledge of Rudra, one should be a single minded devotee. The muttering of *OM* should be practised and meditations resulting in perception (*Avagati*) should be resorted to. The *Pāśupata Vrata* enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the *Paśu*, or the individual soul is tied[117]. The system of the *Lākuliśa Pāśupata* has been criticised by Śaṁkara on the ground that the *Pāśupatas* regard God as operative and not the material cause of the world[118].

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[110] *Lākulīśa*, i. e. holder of *Lakula* or *Laguḍa* i. e. a club. Cf. *JBBRAS* – XXII. 151 ff ; G. N. Rao – *Elements of Hindu Iconography* – II. 1, p. 19. The sect seems to have come into prominence in about 1st century A. D.

[111] *Lingapurāṇa* (Pūrvabhāga) 8.88–100; *Skanda* 5, 3, 11, 19; *Kūrma* – (Adhyāya) – 11. Hiuentsang makes a reference to this system – Cf. *Beal* – II. 353.

[112] *Śrībhāṣya* – *Brahmasūtra* II. 2.36 ; Commentators like Vācaspati and Govindānanda refer to them.

[113] According to Śaṁkara *Māheśvaras* believe in five categories—*Kārya*, *Kāraṇa*, *Yoga*, *Vidhi* and *Dukhānta*, which are all *Pāśupata* tenets.

[114] योगोऽप्योंकारादिध्यानधारणादिः । विधिस्त्रिषवणस्नानादिर्गूढचर्यावसानः ।

[115] Cf. *Pāśupata sutra* – भस्मना त्रिषवणं स्नायीत ।

[116] R. G. Bhandarkar – *Vaiṣnavism* –*Śaivism* etc. p. 111-12.

Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśana - Saṁgraha* has outlined the following points in connection with the elucidation of this system.

(i) *Kārya* (Effect) – is dependent and is of three kinds–(a) *Vidyā* (sentiency), (b) *Kalā* (insentient) and (c) the sentient. Sentiency is of two kinds–external and internal and the external can be again divided into two – distinct and indistinct. The organs can be divided into offects and causes. The effected organs are : the five elements and five qualities. The organs, which are causes, are of thirteen kinds, *e.g.*, the five senses, five organs of action and three internal organs, *viz.*, intelligence, egoism and mind. The Sentient or the *Pāśu* (individual) is of two kinds–(i) pure and (ii) impure.

(ii) *Kāraṇa* – Cause.

(iii) *Yoga* (union) – Conjunction of soul with god through intellect or *Chitta*. It is of two kinds–(a) characterised by action, and (b) characterised by the cessation of action.

(iv) *Vidhi* (rite or process) is of two kinds – principal and subsidiary. Various *Vidhis* have been prescribed. Amongst others, five postures have been indicated–*Krathana* (snoring), *Spandana* (trembling), *Maṇḍana* (Limping) *Śṛṅgārana* (acting with

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117. *Ibid.* – Cf. Saṁkarānanda's interpretation or the *Upanishad.*

118. R. G. Bhandarkar , *Collected Works* – IV. 173 ff.

amorous gestures), *avitathākaraṇa* (acting absurdly.), *avitadbhāṣaṇa* (talking nonsensically).

(v) *Dukhānta* – (Deliverance) is of two kinds – personal and impersonal.

Saṁkara and his commentators also describe the above five topics as forming the main tenets of the Pāśupata system. The *Pāśupatas* and the *Kāpālikas* hold the same view of salvation as the *Vaiśeṣikas* and the *Naiyāyikas*. As for the *Śaivas*, their conception of *Mokṣa* is said to be identical with that of the *Sāṁkhyas*. *Dukhānta* is one of the fundamental tenets of the *Pāśupata* system. The *Pāśupatas* regards this as *Mukti*, a condition characterised by the annihilation of the entire range of the specific attributes of the self[119]. The *Pāśupatas* seem to have been a system of religious discipline rather than a school of speculative thought. The moral discipline of the *Pāśupata* School, according to Kauṇḍinya's Commentary, is based on the *yamas* or modes of self-restraint, *viz, ahiṁsā, brahmacarya, satya, asaṁvyavahāra, Śauca, āhāralāghava* and *apramāda*. Devotion to Rudra in this life and intimate association with *Him* in the life beyond is the goal of the *Pāśupatas*. The highest *yoga* is absorbed concentration on the supreme Rudra, discarding shape and form[120].

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[119] आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृतिर्दुःखान्त शब्देनोक्ता तामेव
निःशेष वैशेषिकात्मगुणोच्छेद लक्षणां मुक्ति मन्यते ।
—सर्वं दुःखापोहो दुखान्तः……सात्मकस्तु महेश्वरैश्वर्यं
लक्षणा सिद्धिः…………

[120] A Mysore inscription of 943 A. D. states that Lakuliśa, the traditional founder of the *Pāśupata* system, became incarnate as a sage named Cilluka to preserve the name and continuity of his doctrine, which points to a revival of Pāśupata teaching in the South. Another inscription, found in the temple of Harṣanātha in the Sikar Principality of Jaipur State, mentions a scholar named Viśvarūpa who was a teacher of the *Pañcārtha Lākulananāya*,' *i.e.*, the sacred book of Lakulin, called *Pañcārtha*. This inscription is dated 957 A. D.

The *Śvetāśvatara Upn,* compiled by the great *Pāśupata* leader *Śvetāśvatara,* is a valuable document for the study of the Vrātya philosophical system. The sixth chapter of this book deals with the theistic aspect of the Vrātya system of philosophy. It insists on the existence of God who is the same as *Īśa, Īśāna, Rudra, Śiva, Māheśvara,* as the first principle, though *'Brahman'* is made to denote it. It also refers to *Pratimā*[121] (image) of Rudra. There are references to *Pāsa* or net[122] and to *Śiva*[123]. *Māyā* is styled as *Prakṛti* and he who uses *Māyā* is called Māheśvara or *Māyin*[124]. According to Madhāva, the cessation of pain is, in other systems (as in the *Sāṁkhya*) the mere termination of miseries, but in the *Pāśupata* it is eternal, the spirits and so forth, the sentient and the insentient. In the *Pāśupata,* the union results in the cessation of pains by the attainment of divine perfection. In this system, paradise and other similar spheres result in nearness to the Supreme being *either* followed *or* not followed by such return to transmigrating experiences. Some scholars have ascribed the origin of the *Sāṁkhya-yoga* system to the Vrātyas[125].

The editor of the *Pāśupata-Sūtra* gives the following list of succession of teachers — Nakulīśa, Kauśika, Gārgya, Maitreya, Kauruṣa, Iśāṇa, Paragārgya, Kapilāṇḍa, Manuṣyaka, Kuśika, Atri, Piṅgala, Puṣpaka, Bṛhadārya, Agasti, Santāna, Rāsikara.

[121] *Śvet. up.* – IV. 19. "there can be no likeness (*Pratimā*) of him whose name is great glory."

[122] *Ibid* – V. 13; I. 11; II. 15

[123] *Ibid* – V. 3 – In the Indus civilisation, Siva was the lord of animals. Śiva was probably the lord of some tribes. *V. 3*— "Thus again, having created his Yatis, the Lord (*Īśa*) The great soul (*mahātman*), exercises universal overlordship." For details—Cf Marshall—(i) *The Indus valley Civilisation*; (II) Wheeler—(a) The Indus Civilisation; (b) Early India and Pakistan; (III) History of Humanity—Vol. I (Pre-history).

[124] *Ibid* – IV. 9–10–"The whole world is pervaded with beings that are parts of Him.

[125] *BA*. p. 13ff

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Hauer considers them to be forerunners of the yogins. One important point in this system is that God *Himself* is absolutely independent. No *Karmas* can produce any fruit without the will of God[126]. The *Karma* theory, which is held so high in other systems, is here regarded as superfluous.

The *Śveta-Upn.* (1.1.) aims at the satisfactory solution of the problems of the meaning of life and the world and the relation of the individual to the form of the Universe. Even the evidences of Buddhist influences are not wanting in the *Upanishads*[127]. It has long been suspected that the later Śiva sects, which recognised the *AV* as their chief scripture, were closely connected with the Buddhist sects[128]. In this way the Buddhist influence was transmitted to the *Praśna* and *Muṇḍaka Upn.* of the AV[129]. There is no doubt that the *Upanishads* have got a heterogeneous structure and the evidences of non-Vedantic character are not wanting in the *Śvetāśvatara Upn*[130]. Cowell believes that "the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* is the most direct attempt to reconcile the *Sāṁkhya* and the *Vedānta*[131]." The theory of *Karma,* which the *Pāśupatas* regarded as superfluous, was not very clear to the early Vedic scholars. After a preliminary sign of the doctrine of metempsychosis in the *AV*[132], the notion first made its definite appearance in the

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[126] *Śvet. up.* — III. 20 — "when through the (*Prasāda*) grace of the creator he sees the Lord (*Īś*) and his greatness.
— Cf *Ibid.* VI. 21. This *Upanishad* is the best source for the study of the Vrātya philosophy. Another important sect was that of the Ārhatas — Cf. *PB.* XVII. 53. 2.

[127] Cf. *Bṛhd.up.* 3. 2. 13; 4. 3. 9; *SB* – 14. 7. 1. 10.
Muṇḍaka Up. 1. 2. 1; *Praśna-up.* 1. 2; 2. 3.

[128] R. E. Hume , *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 7. (1954).

[129] *Ibid* – Cf – Foucher – *Etude Sur'' iconographic bouddhique ae l' Inde*

[130] *Śvet. upn* – 1. 4–5; 6. 1; 1. 3; 4–10; 4. 5.

[131] Colebrooke , *Miscellaneous Essays*, I. 257.
Cf. *JAOS* – XXII, pp. 380–87.

[132] Hopkins – *Religions of India.* p. 175.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Gough believes that this idea originated among the semi-savage people of India, connected with animism[133]. Nothing definite on this point can be said in the present state of our knowledge. In the *Upanishads*, we find the change from the first realistic materialism to the final speculative idealism[134].

Philosophy of History

The ancient Indian conception of the philosophy of *History* is closely linked up with the Vrātya tradition and culture. We have discussed above the role of the *Sūtas* in the then set-up and the part they played in recording the contemporary chronicles. An important tradition maintains that the *Sūtas* narrated history to Saunaka in twelve years. The development of historical idea is not a new thing in India. The concept of history certainly differed from that of the west and this is one of the reasons why Macdonell said that there was history in Sanskrit literature. A study of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reveals to us the contemporary idea about History or *Ākhyāna*[135]. After the *Aśvamedha* horses are released and till their return, the *Yajamānas* used to hear Ākhyāna.

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[133] *Philosophy of the Upnishads* – chapter I.
—Theory of Karma can be found in *Bṛh. up.* 4. 4. 2; *Chāndogya*, 5. 10. 7; *Śveta. up.* 5. 11–12; *Katha.* 5.7.

[134] Hegel has rightly said — "If we wish to get the so-called pantheism in its poetic, most elevated, and if one will, its coarsest form, we must look for it in the Eastern poets; and the largest expositions of it are found among the Indians"— quoted in Hume, *op. cit.* p. 70.

[135] *ŚB.* 11. 5. 7. 9— य एवं विद्वान्वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराण मित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते त एनं तृ प्तास्तर्पयान्ति सर्वैः कामैः सर्वैर्भोगैः । *ŚB* – 13. 4. 3. 13. क्यां सि च वायोविद्यिकाच्चोप समेता भवन्ति तांनुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयामिति किंचिन्पुराणमाचक्षी तैवमेवाध्वर्युः सं-प्रेष्यति; Cf–R. K. Choudhary–Presidential Speech of History Section in the first session of the All India Maithila writers' Conference (Darbhanga–1956).

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The *Ṛtvija* sits around the *Vedi* with the *Udgātā* and the *Yajamāna* sits on the golden *āsandi* and the *Adhvaryu* sits on the golden *dais.* *Adhvaryu,* then, requests *Preṣa* to narrate history in the following words—*Bhutāni avikṣvabhūteṣu imaṁ yajamānaṁ adhyuḥ or* Tell us history and create the interest of *Yajamana* in history. The historical idea had its beginning in the Ṛigveda[136]. *Purāvṛtta* is called history. History is a story and a narrative as well. The *AV* presents an idealistic conception of history[137]. In connection with the Vrātya hymn, we learn that when the Ekavrātya moved, he was followed by *Itihāsa* (narrative) and the *Purāṇa* (story of old) and the *gāthās* (songs) and the *Nārācaṅsīs* (eulogies). The Ekavrātya is the abode of *Itihāsa and Purāṇa.*

The importance of the study of history, at the time of *Brahmayajña,* has been emphasised in the *ŚB.* The *Chāndogya upn.* also lays stress on the study of history[139]. It is called "*Māṅgalyānītihāsapurāṇāni*" in one of the *Gṛhyasūtra* (*AGS.* 4.6). The study of history was considered to be very sacred and sometimes even important than the study of the Mahābhārata[140]. In his interpretation of the Vrātya hymns, Griffith suggests that legendary and traditionary records (*Itihāsa-purāṇa*) were the fore-runners of the two great epics and the many *Purāṇas*. The *Gāthās* preserved the oral transmission among the people and the *Nārāćansis* contained the eulogistic legends of various heroes[141]. History preserved the cultural tradition of the people and the Smṛti writers have given due attention to this aspect of our knowledge[142]. The real history of our people and their culture is preserved in the *Purāṇas*[143]. The *Sūtas, Māgadhas* and the *Chāraṇas* have compiled the *Purāṇas*. It is they who thereby preserved the historical tradition in bardic tales and forms. The *Purāṇas* were again recast during the hey-day of Gupta civilisation. The stories, preserved in the *Purāṇas*, formed the basis of future historical development and ultimately history came to be regarded as the fifth *Veda*. The *Sūta-Māgadhas* played an important part in compiling this great tradition. People used to take great interest in hearing the *Ākhyānas* at the time of *Aśvamedha* sacrifice[144]. The association of the *Śuta-Magadhas* with the development of historical idea is remarkable as they enable us to connect the *Vrātyas* with this tradition.

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[136] *BD* – III. 156; IV. 46. इतिहासः पुरावृत्तऋषिभिः परिकीर्त्यते ।
VI. 107, 109; VII. 7; VII. 153–आह्वानं प्रतिचाख्यानं इतरेतरयोरिदम् ।
संवादं मन्यते यास्क इतिहासं तु शौनकः ।

[137] *AV* – XI. 7. 24.
ऋचः सामानिच्छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह
अच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सवे दिविदेवा दिविश्रितः ।

[138] *Ibid.* XV. 6. 4.

[139] *Chāndogya* – 7. 1. 2. ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्ये मि यजुर्वेद; सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहास पुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यँ राशि दैवं निधिं वाक्योवाक्य-मेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्म विद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्याँ सर्पदेवयजन-विद्याम् । एतद्भगवोऽध्येमि ।

[140] *MBH.* 18.6. ९५: अष्टादश पुराणानां श्रवणाद्यत्फलंभवेत्
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति वैष्णवोनात्र संशयः ।
Cf. *Vanaparva* (187. 57)— इत्येतन्मात्स्यकं नाम पुराणं परिकीर्तितम् ।

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[141] Griffith, *op. cit.* p. 191.

[142] *Manu* – III. 232 – स्वाध्यायंश्रावयेत् पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैवहि ।
आख्यानानीतिहासाश्च पुराणानि खिलानिच ॥
Yājñ – III- 189 – यतो वेदाः पुराणानि विधोपनिषदस्तथा ।
श्लोकाः सूत्राणि भाष्याणि यच्च किंचन वाङ्मयन् ॥
ADS – 1. 19. 13, 15 – अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति – अथाप्युदाहरन्ति ।
Cf. *ADS*. 1. 29. 7; 2. 23. 3—

[143] *Padmapurāṇa* – 3. 5. 10 – एष साधारण पन्थाः साक्षात
कैवल्यसिद्धिदः *Bhāgavata* 7. 9. 10. holds that even a *Chaṇḍāla* can be greater than a *Brāhmaṇa*.

[144] *ŚB* 13. 4. 3. 3.—तस्य मनुष्या विशस्त इम आसत इत्यश्रोत्रिया गृहमेधिन उपसमेता भवन्ति तानुपदिश — त्यृ चो वेदः सोऽयमित्यृ चां सूक्तं व्याक्षक्षाण इवानुद्रवेत् वीणागणगिन उपसमेता भवन्ति तानध्वर्युः संप्रेष्यति वीणागणगिन इत्याह पुराणैरिमं यजमानं राजाभिः साधु कृद्भिः संगायतेति नं ते तथा संगायन्ति तद्यदेन नेवं संगायन्ति पुराणैरेवैनं तद्राजभिः साधुः कृद्भिः सलोकं कुर्वन्ति ।

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IV

Social Organisation of the Vratyas

Closely connected with the Vrātyastoma is the social history of the Vrātyas. Their social life is depicted in a number of sources. A study of these sources reveals to us that the Vrātyas formed a well organised social unit. They had their leaders known as *Gṛhapati* or patriarch. The Vrātyas were divided into classes and from a description of their dress, it appears that there were two classes—upper and lower. Lāṭyāyana holds that the Vrātyas acknowledged three grades—(a) the educated, (b) the high born, and (c) the wealthy. He, who is superior in education, birth or wealth, should be acknowledged as their chief by the thirty Vrātyas who should each have a separate fire for pouring the oblation into[145]. While the Vrātya *Rājanyas* were highly cultured and intellectually developed, the rest were probably pushed into general ignorance and superstition possibly on account of poverty.

Almost all the sources are unanimous that the Vrātyas practised neither agriculture nor trade. They were nomads in the beginning. Their movement is indicated in the *AV* which speaks of an *Antaradeśa* from which the *Vrātya* goes in all directions (east, west, south, north, upper and fixed regions). Vrātya seems to have been everywhere. Though confined to the east, they were in every direction. In the north, their expansion was checked by the Himālaya, in the south by the *Vindhya,* in the west by the pressure of other tribes, while in the east they had an unlimited scope for expansion. These regions seem to have been cleared off by the Vrātyas and their leaders who took initiative in the matter and placed themselves at the helm of social affairs claiming superiority over others. The *Antaradeśa* of the *AV* has been identified by some scholars with some portions of western India. The *antaradeśa* was "under the sway of the Brahmanical institutions with their small political units, with their complicated sacrificial rites, with constant and long isolated parochial ideas, with their class interest and with their narrow views. They still remained spell-bound by their old tradition which they found difficult to break through. But not so in the east...........the number of Brāhmaṇas were few compared to that of *Antar-deśa*."[146].

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[145] *LSS* – VIII. 6.

All descriptions, in different sources, agree with the view that the Vrātyas did not conform to the rules of Vedic religion. We shall discuss, later on, the main points of difference between the Vrātyas and the aryans. The Vrātyas moved in all directions. They had their own mode of living, dress and customs. The whole concept, of their living, habits and dress, gives us an idea of their social organisation. The main equipments of the Vrātyas were as follows :—

(i) *Āsandi*[147] : Whether the word occurs in the Ṛigveda or not, it is difficult to determine. Śaunaka, in *Bṛhaddevatā*, has used this word in connection with the cushion. It was used by the Vrātya chief, *Gṛhapati* or patriarch. The framework of the *Āsandi* was as follows—two forefeet, two back feet, two lengthwise and two crosswise. The cushion (*āṣṭāraṇa*[148]) and the pillow (*upabarhana*) were arranged. It stood on a support and a seat was provided therein. It is for the Vrātya, that the *Āsandi* is brought. *Āsandi* may be taken as the royal seat associated with the eastern Vrātyas and might reflect the emblem of royalty[149]. The Vrātyas were most numerous in the east, though spread over in every direction. Some aspects of their social custom are also evident from the *PB*. They moved about in bands in open chariots of war, carried bowls and lances, wore turban and garments with a red border and fluttering ends, wore shoes and sheep-skins folded double, possessed cattle. Their leaders were distinguished by brown robes and silver ornaments for the neck[150].

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[146] *ML.* p. 13; *Der Vrātya*, pp. 124ff.

[147] *AV.* XV. 3. 1–8; Cf *BD.* V. 20.

निषस्मः स तया सार्धम् आसन्धां काशिपावपि ।
तामुपामन्त्रयां चक्रे कमेतं न्वामिति त्वृचा ॥

—*Āsandi* is used for the cushion on a stool.

—*Jātakas* also refer to its use. Cf. *Der Vrātya*. p. 32, *F. N.*

[148] Petersburg Lexicon has "cushion." Aufrecht calls it "*coverlet*" as does Maxmuller in *SBE*. I. 278 for *Upaśri*, the latter, something that leans against or is leaned against.

(ii) *Uṣṇiṣa* (= *Turban*)—The purpose of the turban was to keep off the Sun. The term *Uṣṇiṣa* is not mentioned in the early Vedic literature except in connection with the Vrātyas in *AV*.[151] The turban is the characteristic of the Vrātya chieftain.

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[149] S. C. Sarkar— *op. cit.* pp. 53–54,
The conception of *Āsandi* was one of the most important aspects of the Vrātyas. Even after desertion, the *Kuśitaka* sect continued the tradition of *Āsandi* and it forms an aspect of the *Kauśitaki Upanishad* 1. 5. The combined description of the throne and of the couch in the *Kauśitaki upn.* (1. 5) are very similar to the description of Vrātya's seat in *AV* — *XV*. 3. 3–9 and also of Indra's throne *AB*. 8. 12. The *Kauśitaki upn.* says — "He come to the throne *Vicakshaṇa* (far-shining). The *Bṛhad* and *Rathantara Sāmans* are its two forefeet; the *Śyaita* and the *Naudhasa*, the two hind feet; the *Vairūpa* and the Vairaj, the two lengthwise pices; the *Sākvara* and the *Raivata*, the two cross ones .... He comes to the couch *Amitaujas*..................the *Udgītha*, the bolster (*upaśri*); prosperity, the pillow." (1. 5); Cf *Der Vratya* —pp. 249–50 Hauer discusses it in connection with the *Mahāvrata* rite — "Die angezogenen Parallelen erweisen zwe Genüge, dass die *Asandi* des Vrātya der AV–XV. 3ff. und die beim Mahāvrata gebrauchte identisch sind. Und wie der Udgātar alsein Mahāvrata als in König gepriesen wird und von mystischen Krāften begleitet ist, weil sein sitz in jedem seiner Teile einer bestimmten überirdischen Macht mystisch entspricht, so der Vrātya in AV XV,...... " (p. 250)

[150] *PB* – XVII. 4. 1–9; *AV*. XV. 1–4.

[151] S. C. Sarkar – *op cit*. 68; *AV*–XV. 2-त्रासोहरुष्णीषं

Even in the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*, *Uṣṇiṣa* is mentioned chiefly in connection with the Vrātyas[152] and the kings. *Uṣṇiṣa* in the *AV* was as bright and white as the day. Turban was a speciality of the Vrātya culture. It became prominent in this country through their efforts. It was one of the important equipments of the Vrātya *Gṛhapati*. It is enumerated as one of the properties or belongings of the Vrātyas. According to Kātyāyaṇa, the Vrātya turban is obliquely wound round the head along with a long whip[153]. The headdress, known as *Uṣṇiṣa*, is thus the earliest mentioned in connection with the eastern people. It used to have across windings and was tied with a tilt. The description closely resembles some of the turbans of Sānchi and Bhārhut. It was considered to be a mark of dignity and authority[154].

(iii) *Skin dress*. The primitive riparian clothing material was *"Kuśa"*, a kind of grass. This is, no doubt, a relic of prehistoric times. The common ritual use of grass-girdle today is a remnant of that old custom, which is said to have been invented first by the Aṅgirāsas. The system was, in vogue, among the early indigenous people of the east like the Vrātyas of Magadha[155]. Regarding the skindress, there is a difference of opinion about the actual skin used for the purpose. *KSS (K)* (XXII 4.18) gives the following description—"They

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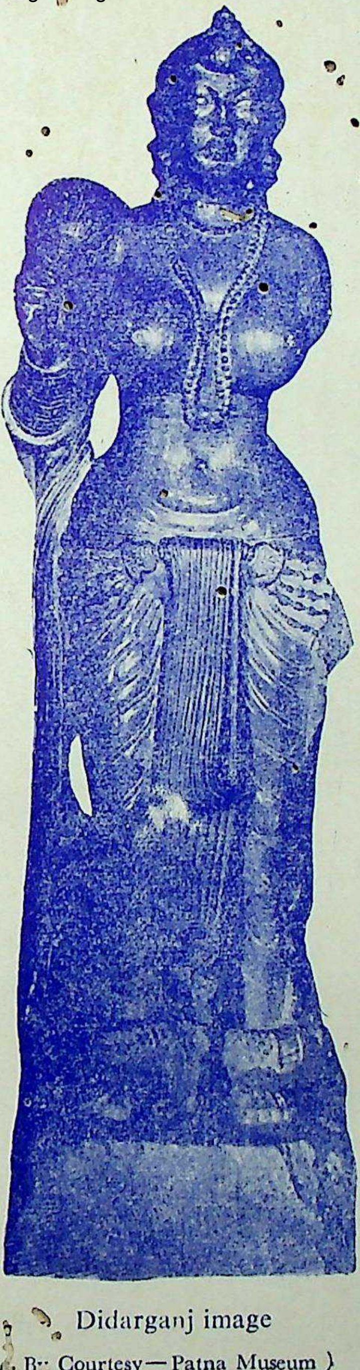
[152] *PB*. XVI. 6. 13; 1. 14 वक्ष्यमाणान्युष्णीषादीति व्रात्यानां धनानि भवन्ति ।

[153] *KSS* – XXII. 4. 11 – तिर्यङ्नद्धमुष्णीषं प्रतोदः ।

[154] Cf. G. S. Ghurye – *Indian Costumes* – p. 72. We have to bear in mind here that the oldest dress of the people of Bihar is *Dhoti* as will be evident from the Didārganj image. *Dupaṭṭā* (Dopaṭā) in Maithili) is another oldest dress extant in Bihar.

Also Cf – Motichandra – प्राचीन भारतीय वेशभूषा— पृ. २३-२४ *Uṣṇiṣa* has been mentioned in connection with the dress of the kings and the Vrātyas. Cf— *AB*. 6. 1; *SB*. 3. 3. 2. 3. ; *Der Vrātya*, pp. 124ff.

[155] Sarkar – *op. cit*— p. 58.



Didarganj image

(By Courtesy—Patna Museum)

wear the hairy skin of a black antelope together with black and white woollen blankets[156]." This much is there about the *Gṛhapati* or Patriarch. The other Vrātyas also wear similar skins of antelopes as referred to above[157]. According to the *PB*[158], they used goats' skin. MM. Śāstri holds that the Vrātyas had two pieces of sheep skin bordered with white embroidery, while there was no border with the others[159]. None but the gods and Brāhmaṇas use skins, the only exception being the Vrātya chieftain and their followers. They had an improved style of wearing twofold (*Dvisamhitāni*) *ajinas,* one black and one white (*Kuśa-valakṣa*) so as to form four-lined skin wraps[160]. The Dravidian peculiarity in dress of the Vrātyas

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156. अजिने पार्श्वसहिते कृष्ण वलक्षे आविके ।
Cf. *KSS* (Kāśi edn.)— अजिने पार्श्वसहिते कृष्ण वलक्षे
मेषयोश्चर्मणी पार्श्वतस्तन्तुभिः स्यूतैः संलग्ने
शुक्ल कृष्ण वर्णे व्रात्यधने भवतः । (XXII. 4. 18.)
Cf. *Der Vrātya* – p. 127 — "Der Anzug des Gṛhapati ist eindrucksvoll undsymbolhaft. Auf dem Haupte trägt er den Turban... ....Ein Schwärzliches Gewandmit schwarzen Fransen umhüllt seine Gestalt (Kṛṣṇaśam Vāsaḥ). (P. 128.) Rudra ein solches Gewand, das der ganzen Gestalt etwas feierlich Düsteres gale, während die schwarzen Fransen beim schreiten und Hantieren eine Note von schweleender majestas hinzufügten... ....Cf *LSS* – VIII. 6. 12; VIII. 6. 13–14; *TMB* – XVII. 1. 4; *WZKM* – XXV. 366; *Baudhāyana* – XVIII. 24; *Taitt. Saṁ.* II. 1, 2, 2; V. 6, 12, 1, *AB*. V. 14.

157. *KSS* – XXII. 4. 19–20 – एवमेवाजिनानीतरेषाम् ।
Note:— इतरेषां व्रात्यनामेवाजिनानि भवन्ति ।
Cf Motichandra – op. cit. pp. 23–24.

158. *PB*. XVII. 1. 14.

159. *ML*. p. 9

160. Sarkar – *op. cit* – p. 57; Cf *LSS* – VIII. 5. 8; The Vrātyas, according to Lāṭyāyana, used *Uṣṇiṣa*, *Lohitavāsas* (red cloth) and *urupota* (Kṛtta). Sāṇḍilya holds that the clothes of the Vrātyas were not of black colour but of variegated colour (mixed –

is clearly perceptible. Their preferential emphasis on the braided *or* tusselled *"Tūṣa"* fringes may indicate that the Vrātyas displayed the hanging ornamental fringe, by tucking only one corner of it[161]. The Vrātyas other than the *Gṛhapati* used blankets having two protuberances, red *or* black threads for fringes, and clothes with red *or* black borders. The Vrātyas generally wore clothes woven out of the blackish thread. These clothes were known by the name of *Kadru* or reddish brown. The *Kadru* may also indicate a cloth having black selvage[162]. The Vrātyas preferred red headdress[163]. They used garments with black fringes. They had upper garments with red borders and corded fringes with strings at each side[164]. The Vrātya *Gṛhapati* favoured dark blue clothes and borders[165]. They also used some sort of silver ornaments.

(iv) *Niṣko Rājataḥ—Or* Silver Ornament : The Vrātyas used ornaments, made of silver, for neck or breast[166]. The

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न्तिकवरा) (VIII. 6. 12). Gautama holds that their clothes were generally white (*Śuklaṃ*) and borders black (*Kṛṣṇadasaṃ*) (VIII. 6. 13). Regarding the colour, all authorities are not unanimous on the point.

[161] *KSS* (k)— दामतूषाणि वल्कान्तानिद्विचूडान्याविकानि वासाथंसि लोहितान्तानि कृष्णान्तानि वा तदाख्यानि ।

The different reading in the *Kāśi edn.* is — आविकानि वासांसि = मेषरामानि वस्त्राणि गृहपत्यतिरिक्तानां सर्वेषां व्रात्यानां धनानि भवन्ति। कीदृशानि, दामतूषाणि । तूषो = वस्त्रणा । (XXII. 4. 20–21)

[162] *Ibid*. XXII. 4. 13–14— कृष्णसूत्रोतं कद्रुइच्यते— तदपिव्रात्यधनम्— स्वयम् कृष्णं सत यत्कृष्णदशंवासः तद्वाकद्राख्यन्–अकृष्णं कृष्णदशं वातदाख्यम्। Cf KSS (k) वासः कृष्णशंकद्रु – *Note* – कृष्णमशितं येन तत्करेण न कृष्णशमित्युच्यते । कृष्णसूत्रोमित्यर्थः । तत्कद्रवाख्यम् ।

[163] *LSS*–VIII. 5. 8; for other kinds–Motichandra, *op. cit*–pp. 23-24; *Sāṇḍilya*, VIII. 6. 12; *Gautama*, VIII. 6. 13.

[164] *PB*, XVII. 1. 14–15

[165] *Ibid.*

[166] *KSS* – XXII. 4. 17 – निष्को: राजत:— *Kāśi edn.* has –राजतो निष्कः कण्ठाभरणं व्रात्यधनम् ।

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silver ornament was a speciality with the Vrātyas while the aryans used ornaments made of gold. Since there is no mention of any other metal except the silver, with reference to the equipments of the Vrātyas, it may be presumed that they had not developed the art of manufacturing other metal goods *or* articles. The reference to *Suvarṇa*, in the *AV*, in connection with the Vrātyas, is too mystic to admit of any verification at this stage. The implications, arising out of the mention of *Suvarṇa* in the *AV*, have been discussed elsewhere in this volume. The Vrātyas probably used necklaces (*Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*) made of silver. R. R. Bhāgwat believes that the *Gṛhapati* of the Vrātyas wore an ornament called *Niṣka* or coin[167]. The *PB*[168] also states that they used *Niṣka*, silver ornament, worn around the neck. This was one of the equipments of the Vrātyas[169].

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[167] Bhāgwata – *op. cit.* P, 361.

[168] *PB* – XVII. 1. 14; Cf. Dr. Motichandra, *op. cit.* pp. 23–24—"निष्क नाम की माला"—

[169] The word '*Niṣka*' has been used in the *RigVeda* (V. 19. 3), *AB* (VIII. 22); *AV* (V. 17. 4) and in the *BD* (III. 148-169)

BD-III. 148—निष्काणां वृषभाणां च शतमदात्पुनः ।
एतदुत्तरसुक्तेन शमित्यादिनोदितम् ॥

III. 149—शतमश्वान्छनं निष्कान्रथान्दशवधूमतः ।
चतुर्युजो गवां चैव सहस्रंपष्ठ्युपाधिकम् ॥

—*Niṣka* here has been used in the sense *necklets*.

Cf. *Der Vrātya*—pp. *128–129*-"Dabei nahm er einen Niṣka mit" denn in alter Zeit wurde von Priestern, die eine Umfahrt machten, ein dhana Umgehängt Zur Herausfor derung der sich Fürchtenden "………So trägt auch Rudra den Niṣka, und Zwar ist er dort deutlich für" heilig "erklärt : arhan (bibharṣi) (niṣkaṃ yajataṃ viśvarupam………Der unbekehrte Vrātya Vrātya trägt nach Baudhayana XVIII, 24 Zwei Schmuckstucke, eines aus Gold, das andere \aus Silber (Suvarṇarajatau rukmau); auch in AV XV trägt der Vrātya Zwei Schmuckstücke (kalmalimaṇi), die mit Sonne und Mond Verglichen werden, während der Niṣka der Vrātyastoma identisch ist……"

(V) *Upānaḥ* (Sandal)

The Vrātyas had a pair of shoes and a doubly joined goats hides[170]. The Sūtrakāras are of opinion that the sandals of the Vrātyas were of variegated colours. Others hold the view that they were black shoes furnished with flaps[171]. Their sandals were not only black but also pointed. The term "*Upānaḥ*" first occurs in the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*, with which the Vrātyas are connected. S. C. Sarkar says — "these details indicate that the most stylist shoe-wearers of those days were the Vrātyas[172]". The shape and colour of their sandals differed greatly from those of the Aryans. The Vrātyas used sandals of black skin with ears and two sheep skins[173]. *Upānaḥ* was also one of the equipments of the Vrātyas.

(VI) *Pratoda* (whip) and *Jyāhroḍa* (a small bow without an arrow)

The Vrātyas carried a whip in their hands and a small bow without arrow by which they made depredations and troubled the people[174]. They beat those unworthy of correction. They used a kind of bow which was not meant for

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170. *PB* XVII. 1. 14-15.

171. *KSS* XXII. 4. 23—उपानहौचकर्णिन्यौ कृष्णेस्याता मित्येक ।
Cf *Kāśi edn.*—द्वे-द्वे दामनी उपानहौ च………(दामिनी द्वे-द्वे -meaning not clear).

172. Sarkar—*Op. Cit.* Pp. 69-70. The pointed shoes of variegated colours were, till recently, very popular among the aristocratic class of Bihar.

173. *ML*—P. 9. Cf. Motichandra—*Op. Cit.*

174. *PB*—XVII. 1. 14-16; *Pratoda* is mentioned only in the *Kāśī edn.* of the *KSS.* XXII. 4. 11—प्रतोदः अनड्डुत्प्रेरण साधनं प्राजनः = प्रतोदः । इदं द्वितीयं व्रात्यधनम् ।

shooting[175]. The meaning of *Jyāhroḍa* is not clear even to the Sūtrakāras. According to Baudhāyana, the Vrātyas are provided with a bow and three arrows in a leathern quiver. The Vrātya chiefs are said to be armed with whip or a goad, two forerunners before and two footmen behind[176]. *Pratoda* and *Jyāhroḍa* were the two important equipments of the Vrātyas. The possession of bow and arrow along with whip is indicative of the fact that the Vrātyas, in general, had not yet crossed the stage of hunting. The use of leather and skin for the protection of bows and for the purposes of dress enables us to arrive at the conclusion that they had not yet advanced much in their the then technological development.[177]

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[175] *KSS* (K) XXII. 4. 12–ज्याह्रोडोडेयोग्यं धनुस्तदाख्यन् । Cf–13 of *Kāśidn*–स्वकार्यसाधना समर्थधनुस्तदाख्यमुज्याह्रोड शब्द वाच्य-मित्यर्थः । इयं तृतीय व्रात्यधनं ।

[176] P. T. S. Aiyangar—*Op. Cit.*–78.

[177] Cf. *MBH*–XIII. 2786.

Hauer–'*Der Vrātya*' P. 131—

—"Dieser Stachelstock ist das Vorbild des Śivaitischen Śūla. So trägt der Asket, der Bhairava in einem von Menschenblut und Schnaps triefenden Schädel verehrt, eine solche Lanze. Und in der Beschreibung des Zuges der Śivaitischen Bakchanten bei Megasthenes tragen diese bei ihren Aufzugen und Tänzen einen Speer. Der Stachelstock des Rudra–Śiva selber entwickelte sich dann im Laufe der Zeit Zu dem Triśula, der bis heute sein wirkungskräftiges symbol geblieben ist".

"………Schon die Tatsache, das es Sāman gab, die den Namen Jyāhroḍa trugen, kann gar nicht erklärt werden, wenn wir den (P. 132) Jyāhroḍa nicht als magisches Instrument auffassen.………Der stab bei der weihe ist längst als Zauberwaffe erkannt, uno der Tridaṇḍa des heiligen Bettlersist ein Überbleibsel jener primitiven Zauberpraktiken. (*Lāt*–VIII. 8, 6, 8—धनुष्केणानिपुण व्रात्याः प्रसेधमानायन्ति)

P. 133–Ich habe aber oben erwiesen, dass das wirkliche objekt von Prasedhamāna die unsicht baren bösen Mächte sind, und

(VII) *Vipatha* (Cart)

The Vrātyas rode in carts with bamboo-sticks without cover and drawn by horses and mules[178]. The leader of the Vrātyas owned "a rough cart covered with planks, "a board – covered rough vehicle." It was also one of the important equipments of the Vrātyas. According to the Sūtrakāras, their chariot was covered with planks, called *Amārgagāmīrathaḥ*[179]. The term refers to the rough carts of the Vrātyas, often going out of the road. The carts were, actually, covered with loose planks and drawn by shaky mules. They did not move in any particular direction at any particular moment. Their wandering was of aimless nature, having, perhaps, no definite purpose. Lāṭyāyana calls the '*Vipatha*' '*Prachyārtha*' meaning eastern chariot. The Vrātyas tied the planks with their carts with string[180].

From the above discussion it is apparent that the Vrātyas had a different social structure of their own and were diametrically opposed to the Aryan social system. They were considered fit to be sacrificed at the altar of God, '*Atikruṣṭa*' (Loud Noise). They were not conversant with the Aryan method. They were

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damit stimmt, dass auch tisṛdhanva Dämonenversche ewcher ist und ebenso daṇḍa bei der Weihe, mit dem der,, Bogen "des Vrātya in eins gesetzt wird".

178 and 179. *KSS*–XXII. 4. 15 फलकास्तीर्णोविपथ: In the *Kāśī edn.* we have—"फलकैरास्तीर्णै आच्छादितो विपथ: = अमार्गगामीरथ: । सोऽपि व्रात्यधनम् । Cf *PB*–XVII. 1. 14

KSS XXII. 4. 16—अश्वाश्वतराभ्यां कम्प्राभ्यां युक्त: स्यादित्येके ।

The rough carts, associated with the eastern people, are indicative of the fact that the Vrātyas were easterners having definite marked customs and social habits.

Cf *Āpastamba*–XVIII. 6. 5.; *Śāṅkhāyaṇa*–XIV, 72, 3; *LSS*–VIII. 6. 9;

180. *Der Vratya*—P. 139 ff.

considered degenerate since they did not observe Brāhmanical rules and abide by the Aryan discipline. They did not practise agriculture and trade and coveted the food prepared for the Brāhmaṇas. Their words were poisonous. Their differences with the Aryans stand marked when we take into consideration the *Vrātyadhana* or their dress and equipment.

(i) The Aryans had chariots, the Vrātyas had carts. The Aryans had their planks nailed to the chariots, Vrātyas' planks were tied with strings. The horses of the Aryans were trained and restraind while that of the Vrātyas detracted from the right path[181]. The Aryan horses had reins while the Vrātyas had sticks with leather throng. Sticks, with leather throngs, are used even today by the bullock-cart drivers and coachmen in Bihar. The animals of the Vrātyas generally went out of the road as they were not controlled.

(ii) The Aryans tied their head dress round their heads, the Vrātyas did it in a slanting manner.

(iii) The Aryans had two garments (upper and lower), the Vrātyas had only one tied on their loins by two strings. The Aryans had no borders on their cloths, the Vrātyas had black borders.

(iv) The Aryans had *Upānat* shoes, the Vrātyas had sandals with a crest.

(v) The Aryans had bow, bowstrings and arrows, the Vrātya had only the bow without string. Vrātyas' bow had certain characteristics — its concave side was red and its convex side blue, with the red side he covered his enemies and with the blue side he pierced his enemies[182].

(vi) The Aryans had gold ornaments, while Vrātyas used silver.

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[181] The Vrātyas carts moved aimlessly.

[182] *AV*–XV. 1. 7, 8—नीलमस्योदरं लोहितं पृष्ठम् ।
नीलेनैवाप्रियं भ्रातृव्यं प्रोर्णोतिलोहितेन
द्विषन्तं विध्यतीति ब्रह्मवादिनोवदन्ति ॥

Some sort of classification existed in the Vrātya society. The articles, relating to their dress, were mainly used by the Vrātya patriarchs. The common man among them had not the fortune of enjoying those privileges. The common man used cloth with red borders and with strings at other end. The Vrātyastoma ceremony had thousands of sacrificers. The wisest, the richest and the most powerful among them acted as *Gṛhapati or* the Patriarch and the rest only followed him. The *Gṛhapati* had to pay a higher *Dakṣinā* (*or* fees) . This ceremony was of frequent occurrence. The Vrātyas, when purified, were not permitted to bring with them the *Vrātya-dhana*. These things had to be given to the Māgadha Brāhmanas[183]. Having performed the sacrificial rites after the Vrātyastoma, the Vrātyas should desist from the Vrātya way of life[184] and should give their belongings to those who have not abandoned Vrātya practices[185]. Kauśitaki and Dyautāna were the two important *Gṛhapatis* of the Vrātya. They acquired sufficient eminence in their days. Kauśitaki was allowed to *collect* the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛigveda*, while Dyautāna is associated with the *Dyauta-sāman*. *Dyauta-sāman* is, in fact, the *Sāman*, which is the central point of the Vrātyastoma ceremony. The new society, created by the fusion of this new blood, introduced domestic regulations, the social regulations, hygiene and sanitary regulations, embodied in the *Gṛhadharma* and *Āchāra* regulations of the Sūtra period[186].

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[183] सर्व एव व्रात्याः मगधदेश निवासी यः स ब्रह्मबन्धुभिर्जायते स मागधदेशीय ब्रह्मबन्धुः तस्मै दद्युः । अपरे तु मागधं गेयमाहुः । तत्रयोदेशीयः इपदसमाप्तौ देशीय इत्युच्यते तस्मैदद्यः ॥

Note on the *KSS* (K) XXII. 4. 24.

[184] *KSS* (K) XXII. 4. 27—व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा व्रात्यभावाद्विरमेयुः ।

[185] *KSS* (K) XXII. 4. 25—अविरतेभ्यो वा व्रात्यचरणात् ।

Also of—XXII. 4. 26—तेष्वेव मृजानां प (५) न्तीति श्रुतेः (*PB*—XVII. 1. 16)—of *Kāśī edn.* तेषु व्रात्येषु पापिष्वेव पापं मृजानाः शोधयन्तो यान्ति पूततां प्राप्नुवान्ति इति श्रवणात् । of *Kāśī edn.* text—, XXII. 4. 27–30.

[186] Śastri—*Vrātyas*—p. 8.

H.P. Śāstri holds — "They (*Bhṛgu-aṅgirāsas*) are like a miscellaneous lot ... ... and are the purified Vrātyas who had no *gotra* but *pravara* only[187]". The Aryans claimed their descent from the *Saptarṣi* of the *Ṛigveda*[188] and *Agastya*. These eight are the roots of the *gotras*. *Bhṛgu* and *Aṅgirah* have nothing to do with the *gotras*. They compiled the *AV* for their own interest and extolled Ekavrātya. The marriage of the descendants of the Ṛigvedic *Ṛṣi* is guided by one set of rules while of the Vrātyas by the other. The Vrātyastoma ceremony enabled the Aryans to bring about a social revolution which marked the mingling of the Aryans and the aboriginal customs. That system proved effective and helpful. The combination of these two elements led to better regulation of social, domestic and political organisation. The magic formulae and the *mantra* rituals of the primitive Vrātyas were discarded and replaced slowly by a new socio-religious foundations respecting the views of both. It is in this way that magic gave way to religion and the unsophisticated and simple ways of the primitive Vrātyas were turned into an organised social system, dominated by the Brāhmaṇas. Manuals for the changed situation were prepared, wherein the old Aryan beliefs were replaced in most cases by the aboriginal ideas.

Dealing with the "*Origin of the Brāhmaṇa gotras*[189]", Prof. Kośambi holds that the Vrātyas were first differentiated from the rest long after the *Bhṛgu–Jamdagni* group was well–established and the *Vedas* fully developed. The Vrātya tribe did not need the *Vedas* simply because they continued to wander eastward, into a territory without a great civilisation comparable with that of the Indus Valley. The Vrātya priesthood was much less developed than the Vedic Aryans. The Vrātyas had their own tribal organisation outside the Brāhmin ritual. Patañjali[190] is quite clear on this point. We have seen above that the *Sūtras* are concerned only with reconciling Vrātya observances with Vedic rituals. Needless to point out that the *Sūtras* say not even a word about the actual life of the Vrātya tribes[191]. The Vrātya *Gṛhapatī* was the tribal chief, having both social and religious functions. There is little doubt about the fact that the wandering Vrātyas alone preserved the older tribal institutions down into historical times[192].

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[187] *Ibid*–p. 8.

[188] Jamdagni, Bhardwāja, Viśvāmitra, Atri, Gautama, Kāśyapa, Vaśiṣṭha, and Agastya.

[189] *JBBRAS*. XXVI (1950) p. 42.

After their conversion, the Vrātyas seem to have been influenced by the Brāhmanical *or* Aryan customs and thought. Their whole conception of life considerably changed. We find that in later literature, they were divided into *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣhatriya* and *Vaiśya*. The descendants of the Vrātyas continued to be Vrātyas for generations[193]. They were considered to be of mixed origin[194]. There were *avrātyabrāhmāṇa*, *avrātya-kṣhatriya* and so on[195]. The offsprings of *Vrātya Vaiśya* were deprived of the *Upanayana Śamsakāra*[196]. They are said to have acted as spies and sorcerers at some places. Kāruṣa, a country between Kośala and Videha, was the centre of a branch of the Vrātya Vaiśyas, *Vīz*, *Kāruṣas*.

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[190] Patanjali on Pānini–V. 2. 21.

[191] Cf. *Der Vrātya*; We learn from the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* that the basic rules of the Buddhist *Saṁgha* were derived from the aryan tribal constitutions, specially of the Lichchavis called *Vrātyakṣatriya* by Manu (X. 21).

[192] *JBBRAS*–XXVI. 49.

[193] *VSS*–49–व्रात्यस्य पुत्रो व्रात्यो भवति कालाति क्रमे सर्वस्मृतिष्वापि कालाति क्रमं पुरष्कृत्यैव व्रात्यानिर्देशात् ।………(व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह)
Here provisions have been made for the purification of the Vrātyas even after twelve generations. There is a lengthy process of penance for twelve years.

[194] *Vrātyatāprāyaśchittanirṇaya*–p. 19.

[195] *Ibid*–20.

[196] *Ibid*–21–व्रात्यवैश्योत्पन्नस्यनोपनयन संस्कार इति जैमिनी सम्मतम् ।

Among the three grades of the Vrātyas,[197] discussed earlier, (*LSS* — VIII. 6), the wealthiest lived in luxury. The Vrātya *Gṛhapati* also led a luxurious life at the cost of the common people. The Vrātya took to agriculture possibly after conversion. The *Gṛhapati*, on account of his privileged position, lived peacefully in a luxurious manner as all other Vrātyas compensated his needs. Only educated, high born and wealthy person was acknowledged as chief or *Gṛhapati*. He seems to have been a very powerful man in the Vrātya society. Others in the Vrātya society, except the *Rājanya*, were ignorant and superstitious. Why, after all, the *AV* glorified the Vrātya ? The problem is still there and the only plausible explanation, that seems logical, is that the Vrātyas must have wielded sufficient power at a particular period of history. The Vrātya is never mentioned otherwise than as being persued by the *Māgadhas* and the *Puṁśchali* (harlot). Here we have to bear in mind that *Puṁśchali* could not have been an Aryan institution since they (the aryans) were an example to others in matters of sexual propriety. *Māgadhas* and *Puṁśchali* were the companions of the Vrātyas. The *MBH* (*Karṇaparva 38·18*) regards Magadha as a territory of many harlots. The *Sūta* king of Aṅga, Karṇa, offers Śyāmā Māgadhī, a slave girl as reward for services. *Puṁśchali*, as such, cannot be definitely an early Vedic institution. It was a Vrātya institution[198].

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[197] (a) The educated.
(b) The high born and
(c) The wealthy.

[198] For details — Cf — *Die Begleiterdervrātya* in *Der Vrātya* pp. 142 ff.

cf. *AV*—XV. 2; *Baudhāyana* XVIII. 25; *LSS*—VIII, 6, 28; *KSS*. XXII. 4, 22; *Manu* X. 11; 26; *Gautama*—IV. 17; *BDS*—I, 2, 13; *VI*—II. 116; *SA*—46 (24) *Halāyadha*. II. 280.; *VS* XXX. 5; *TMB*—III, 4, 1, 1.

cf—*Der Vratya*—p. 114—'Eine Zu. brahmabandhu analoge Bildung haben wir in rājanyabandhu, und dieser ist in Vedischer

R. N. Dandekar believes that the Vedas are not exclusively the documents of the Vedic Aryan life and thought and

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Zeit durchaus nicht nur ein Verachteter Rājanya, sonder hochangesehen, wie Z. B. der berühmte Koñig Janaka Von Videha und andere Wenn auch nicht unbedingt anerkannt Von denorthodoxen, Und SB (X, 5, 2, 10) werden die Rājanyabandhu ganj allgemein im Sinne Von bestimmten Adeligen gebraucht; Ja SB (1, 1, 4, 2) steht der Ausdruck einfach für Kṣatriya (*VI* II. 217)."

Ibid—p. 146—"Wenn nun Sowohl der Māgadha wie die Puṁśchalū als Beglietr des Vrātya das Beiwort brahmabandhu bekommen, so ist damit erwiesen, dass auch sie dem nicht-Orthodoxen Brahmanenstano angehörten, also Personen "heiligen "charakters waren, und die brahmabandhu Kumārī) die wie die brahmacārī gewisse magische Zeremonien wirksam Vollzicht, ist eine Parallele Zu brahmabandhu-apuṁśchalū Puṁścalū-Vākya, Sie bei der Vrātya-Feier des Mahāvrata Zusammen mit dem Māgadha deṇ rituellen Beischlaf Vollzieht (मगधदेशोत्पन्नो ब्रह्मवादी मागधः) . . . . Es wird nun wohl kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass Māgadha in AV XV, 2 und brahmabandhu — amāgadha Māgadha — Vākya in Baudh. XVIII, 25 identisch sind, sie sind Begleiter des Vratya, in irgend einem Sinne der Vrātya-Schar angegliedert." . . . . Die Erklärung scheint mir auf der Hand Zu liegen: Es gabim Magadha-Lande Brahmabandhu, Ketzerische Brahmanen, deren religiöse Bräuche mit denen der Vrātya eng Verwandt waren, so dass sie da, wo es keine iegentli-chen (P. 147) Vrātya gab, an deren Stelle treten Konnten."

P. 148-49—"Zusammenfassend Konnen urr also feststellen, dass die Vrātya Von Personen begbitet waren, die seit uralters heiligen charakter trugen und die ihre Zeremonien mit Gesang, Musik und Tanz belebten. Sie waren auch die Hauptfiguren bei den Resten Von orgiastischem, Treiben in Gemeinschaft mit den übernatürlichen Mächten, das im heiligen Beischalf seinen rituellen Niederschlag gefunden hatte. Die Bezeichnung amā-

that a considerable portion of them is the result of culture contacts and racial fusions. In this connection, we have to take into account the problems of the impact, on the Aryans, of the *Dāsas*, the *Vrātyas*, the *Śūdras* and various other non-Aryan communities and the consequent inter-racial and intra-racial conflicts and reactions in ancient India[199]. In this connection, the findings of Buddhaprakāśa also deserve mention[200]. He says — "*Vrātya* is described as a Vedic priest and the *Vṛtra* as the chief repository of the *Ṛks*, *yajus* and *Sāman*, which he imparted to Indra, in the *Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa*: *Vrātya* is described as belonging to an aristocratic class that wallowed in wealth and wine; *Vṛtra* as owning towns and fortresses and enjoying tubfuls of soma juice: *Vrātya* is described as a despicable being offered as a victim in a *Puruṣamedha* sacrifice (*VS XXX. 8*), *Vṛtra* is inimical to Indra, whose duty it was to kill him. These points of resemblance show the identity of *Vrātya* and *Vṛtra*, both of which were synonymous designations of the priestly class, among the non-Aryan peoples of India, who first checked the advance of the Aryans and fought with them and later on converted them to religious order. This class came to be known as Brāhmaṇas in later times". One may not agree with the learned scholar, but the suggestions, put forward by him, are worth considering. There is a view that the institution of Brāhmanism is earlier than the Aryan and its traces are found not only in India but in other parts of the ancient world.

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gadha, apuṃścalū bei Baudh. beweist, dass weder das Wort Māgadha in seiner wörtlichen Bedeutung als geographische Bezeichnung noch puṃścalū in seinem gemeinen Sinn Verstanden werden durfte; māgadha bezeichnete den im heiligen Dienste wandernden Sängerund Musiker überhaupt, puṃścalū die später devadāsī."

[199] *PIHC* (1947)— Bombay—Presidential speech of Dr. R. N. Dandekar. p. 27.

[200] *ABORI*. XXX. 197; cf. *Dighanikāya* (PTS) I. 89. about Buddhās description of the Brāhmaṇa.

V

Political Organisation of the Vratyas

A study of the social organisation of the Vrātyas enables us to understand clearly the nature of their political system. They were backward in their political organisation than the *Pugas*. They were subordinate to a leader, distinguished by his *niṣka* (or silver ornament) . Their leader seems to have been called a *Grāmaṇī*.[201] Among some of the remarkable social habits of the Vrātyas, violence was prominent and there were some juvenile groups, who actually indulged in these things. In order to put a stop to these undesirable elements, it was natural to have some sort of political organisation to keep them in check. Pāṇini also refers to the existence of such juvenile groups among the Vrātyas[202]. There was some sort of similarity in the political texture of the *Vrātyas* and the *Pugas*. The Vrātyas had some form of crude *Saṁgha* organisation[203].

The term '*Āsandi*', in the *A V* (*XV . 3*) , has been used in connection with the inauguration of the Vrātya. *Āsandi* is taken as the origin of royalty and the origin of royalty in the *AV* is ascribed to this idealised event[204]. This emblem of royalty was known to the *Aṅgirāsas*. Sarkar says — "The emphasis of the *AV* about the Vrātya origin of kingship and priesthood, and the great political power and prestige of the Vrātya finds complete support from the *Purāṇic* tradition regarding them and seems to be only a priestly and mystic version of accepted and known facts of the tradition : the Vrātyas corresponding to the non - Ailas. The Vrātya hymn can be explained by this reasonable hypothesis"[205].

The *AV* (*XV. 3*) gives an indication of the existence of some sort of political organisation. The following points

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201. V. S. Agrawal–Op. Cit–440.

202. *Pāṇini*–VI. 2. 28.

203. Agrawal–Op. Cit–442.

204–205. Sarkar–Op. Cit. p. 53.

will make it more clear — "The good people were his (*Vrātya's*) footmen, *Samkalpa* (resolve) the messenger and others were waiters (*upsād*). The great Vrātya became impassioned (*rāj*) and thence was born the noble (*Rājanya*) (*AV. XV. 8·1*)." *Rājanya* is the oldest designation of a kṣhatriya *or* a man of military *or* royal class. At creation, *Rājanya* is said to have been the arms of the sacrificed *Puruṣa* (*A V – XIX. 6* ; Cf. *Rigveda X. 90* ; *Puruṣasūkta*) *or Primal* man who is identified with the universe. He is said to have been generated by Prajāpati (*TS* — VII. 1·1 ; *SB.* II . 1·4). *Yajurveda* is said to be the womb from which he was born (*TB* — III . 12·9). The word '*Rājanya*' which comes from the root 'Rāj' (to rule) is here fancifully connected with the root '*Raj*' (*sorājyata*) *i. e.* he was filled with passion. A passage in the Jain *Sūtra* discusses three classes of rulers of which *Rājanya* is one[206]. The old republican legend was "*Vṛṣṇī – rajāñya – gaṇasya – trātaṣya*" (of the Vṛṣṇi – rājanya and Gaṇa, the protector of the country). From the coins of about 200 Bc., it appears that the epithet "Rajanya Janapadasa" was very common among the republics[207].

On the authority of Pāṇini, Pātañjali, Kātyāyaṇa and also the *MBH*, Jayaswal believes that *Rājanya* was the name of a political people and that the *Rājanyas* were, therefore, a democracy[208]. *Aṅdhaka* and *Vṛṣṇi Rājanyas* were elected rulers. The *Rājanya* sometimes indicated president as we learn from some of the coins of the *Rājanya* constitutions[209].

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[206] *Ayāraṃgasuttam* (Edited by Jacobi) II. 1. 2. 2.–उग्ग कुलानि वा भोनकुलानि वा राइन्न कुलानि (Rājanya) वा खति। कुलानि दा इक्वाशु कुलानि………

[207] Cunningham–*Coins of Ancient India*–p. 69. *Rājanya* was also well-known equivalent for the *Kshatriyas*–cf. V. A. Smith–*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I. p. 164.

[208] K. P. Jayaswal–*Hindu Polity*–p. 157. They used bronze cast coins. cf. *Pānini*–V. 1. 25.

[209] Cunningham–Op. Cit. 69.

With the Vrātyas, it seems, kingship remained a tribal office of small importance even when the tribe developed into an oligarchy over a tributary population[210]. The great Vrātya tribe was that of the *Lichchavis*, mentioned with respect by the *Jainas* and the earliest *Buddhists*, who maintained a high social position down to the Gupta period. While the Māgadha Brāhmaṇas are called *Brāhmabandhus*, we have to remember that the kings in the *Purāṇas* are referred to as *Kṣhatrabandhu*, applied to Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru[211]. Śāstri identifies *Kṣhatrabandhu* with the Vrātyas[212].

The Vrātyas of Magadha, possibly after conversion, developed their trade and national wealth along with their own institutions both civil and military. The *Śākyas*, *Mallas*, *Lichchavis*, *Videhas*, *Aṅgas*, *Kāśī*, *Bārhadarathas*[213] and the *Haryaṅka* dynasties developed their own forms of government. They were mostly converted into *kṣhatrīyas* after giving up their nomadic habits. The *Lichchavis' Vṛjjis*, *Mallas*, *Kurus*, *Madras*, *Kukuras* and the *Pañchālas* had the title of *Rājā* signifying democratic president. *Rājā* is also explained as a royal officer engaged in the work of government[214]. The Vrātyas were called *Rājās* and when they were admitted into the Brāhmanical fold, the *Brāhmaṇas*, either out of self-interest or political motives, called them *Rājanya*. With the advent of the *Kṣhatrabāndhavas* or the Vrātyas into the political arena of northern India (*or* Magadha), there took place a revolutionary

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210. *JBBRAS*–XXVI. 49.

211. F. E. Pargiter–*The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali age*–p. 22.

212. *ML*–15.
Vrātyatāsuddhisaṁgraha–p. 43. If also refers to *Pradyotas* and *Sisunāgas* etc.

213. केचन पुत्रस्त्रैवर्णिका व्रात्या भवेयुस्तत्रापि कलेरन्ते वहुशो व्रात्या आदौ परिमितामध्ये च मध्यमविद्या एवनतु सर्वथा ब्राह्मणादीन नाम भाव एत्र कल्प्येत । also cf p. 45.

214. Cf–an explanation in the *Śabarabhāṣya*.

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change in the political set up of the country. While attempts were being made to stabilise monarchy on one side there were already existing oligarchical republics of the *Sākyas, Mallas, Videhas, Vṛjjis, Lichchavis* and others on the north bank of the Ganges[215]. The establishment of monarchy by the *Kṣhatrabāndhavas* in Magadha proved to be a bedrock of the later imperalistic movement in India which ultimately succeeded in wiping out all traces of democractic government. While in the beginning, there existed spirit of co-existence and co-operation between these two systems (monarchy and republic) , in the long run, the republican government had to give way to monarchical whims of the imperialists and by the time of the Gupta period, all remnants of republican system withered away.

Viś[216] was an important political term in the Vedic period. The people or the tribe were called *Viśaḥ*[217]. *Viś* refers to the people whose agreed concordant with the electors is necessary in king's election[218]. The *Brāhmaṇa* is mighty through the strength of the whole people[219] (Viś). Prajāpati, being moved to action, moved out towards the western quarter and after him moved out *Vairupā* and *Vairāja. Vairāja* is an important technical term meaning kingless constitution. *Vairāja* has been described as national constitution of some of the nations of the north by the side of the Himālayas[221]. If we take into account the description of the *AV*, it seems plausible to suggest that the *Vairājya* kingdom existed in the west of the Vrātya territory. Even Kauṭilya, who has nothing but contempt for this type of government, treats it as a form of government. He rejects it as a bad form because he held democracy in contempt[222].

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[215] Kauṭilya's '*Arthaśāstra*' calls these confederate people "*Saṁgha-Vṛttaṁ*".

[216] *AV*. XV. 8. 2; XV. 9. 1.; *Viś* is called commonalty in *Brh. up*. 1. 4. 12; 15; In the *VS*, X. 10–12 *Viś* is considered to be "people"; *AB*. 2. 33; *SB*–2. 1. 3. 5–8; 2. 1. 4. 12; 10. 4. 1. 9; 11. 2. 7. 14–6. *Viś* is identified with people.

[217] *AV*–III. 4. 2–त्वां विशोवृणतां राज्याय; Cf. *RV*–X. 173. 1; VI. 87. 1; 88. 3. Cf *VI*–'*Viś*'.

[218] *AV*–III. 4. 6.

[219] *SB*. V. 4. 4. 14.

[220] *AV*–XV. 2. 3–तं वैरूपं च वैराजं–Cf. Griffiths–*Op* Cit. p. 187.

The Jain sources call this system *'Verajjāni*[223]*'*. A reference to this form of government is found in the *MBH*, where *Viraj* is noticed as one of the titles of the ruler[224]. *Virāj* is also mentioned in connection with the movement of the Vrātyas[225]. The Jain sources mention this form as a living institution. One remarkable point, in this connection, is that such states are unsafe for a monk or nun to go to as they are prone to suspect ascetics as political spies. Kauṭilya confirms when he says that the spies generally took the garb of sectarian ascetics. The *Vairājya* seems to denote the democratic concept, wherein the whole country was supposed to rule after a particular ceremony was held for the purpose[226]. The oath was administered to rulers of all forms of polity and was common to all constitutions[227]. The oath had a great constitutional importance and it was humanly solemn. The ritual was practically the same for the republican and non-monarchical constitutions.

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[221] *AB*–VIII. 14–वैराज्याय······उदीच्यांदिशि ये के च परेण हिमवंतं जनपदा उत्तर कुरु व उत्तर मद्रा इति·········
Cf. *Yajurveda*–XV. II for a reference to *Vairājya* in south India.

[222] *Arthaśāstra*–VIII. 2.

[223] *Āyāraṃgasutta*–p. 83.

[224] *Śantiparva*–LXVIII. 54–राजा भोजो विराट् सम्राट्·········

[225] AV–XV. 14. 5.

[226] Probably *Vairājya* was post–tribal form of government with some philosophic background.

[227] *AB*–VIII. 15— ······साम्राज्यं भौज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं······ समंतपर्यायी······सार्वभौमः —

The whole administrative structure of the Vedic period is outlined in the *AV*. We learn that the *Samiti* and the *Sabhā* were the two daughters of Prajāpati[228]. These two bodies are specifically mentioned in the *Vrātyakāṇḍa* of the *AV*[229]. Lanman has translated the *Sabhā* as assembly, the *Samiti* as a gathering and the *Senā* as army.

(i) *Sabhā*—The *Sabhā* was an important body of immense constitutional importance. It is called *Variṣṭa* which is explained by Sāyaṇa as a resolution of "many". It was as important as the *Samitī* and its decision was, in all cases, binding. Pāraskara defines *Sabhā* as a "body of men shining together[230]". It was an important institution during the Rigvedic period. The *Pṛthvī-Sūkta*[231] of the *AV* indicates that the *Sabhā* was an independent body.

(ii) *Samiti*—*Samiti* means meeting together. The most important function of the *Samiti* was to elect the *Rājan*[232]. The people made such speeches as were agreeable to the assembled *Samiti*[233]. There is prayer for a common *Samiti*[234]. The *Samitis* of the whole land are referred to in the *AV*.

Both these bodies were the popular institutions of the Vedic period, besides *Vidatha* and *Senā*[235]. *Vidatha*, it seems, was the parent institution because it was associated with civil, military and religious functions in the early Vedic period[236]. We learn from the *AV*, that the "*Senā*" was an important constitutional institution. A vague idea, about the conception of punishment, can be got from the mystic hymns of the *AV*. Fraud, if detected, was a punishable offence[237].

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[228] *AV* – VII. 13 — सभा च समितिश्चावतां प्रजापते र्दुहितरौ संविधाने

[229] तं सभा च समितिश्च सेना च; ; cf. R. K. Choudhary's article in the *PIHC* (Bombay–1947)

[230] *PGS*–III. 13.1 some sort of judicial function of the *Sabhā* is indicated here – Cf. धर्मनिरूपणात् ।

[231] *AV*–XII. 1.56—ये ग्रामा यदरण्यं याः सभा अधिभूम्याम् ।
ये संग्रामाः समितयस्तेषु चारुवदेमते ।

[232] *Ibid*–V. 19. 15.

[233] *Ibid*–XXII. 1. 56.

[234] *Ibid*–VI. 64 – Cf. *RV* X. 191. 3.

[235] Dr. R. S. Sharma's article in *JBRS* & *PIHC*; Also cf. R. S. Sharma—*Aspects of Political ideas and Institutions.*

If the asura sources under *Bhṛgu* be ascribed to the authorship of the *AV*; some difficulties, regarding the political organisation of the Vrātyas, stand the chance of being solved without difficulty. The Vrātyastoma hymns of the *PB* (XVII.1.9) hint at the possibility of the asura element being a part of the Vrātyas. If the *Atharvan* stands for a priestly function, there might be conceivably others following the same cult. *Bhṛgus* were the foremost among the *Atharvans*. *Kṣhatraveda* and *Brahmaveda* strengthen this hypothesis[238]. We know that the Kṣhatriya prince of the *MBH* defied sovereignty and canonized the *Atharvaveda*. Dr. Banerjee-Śāstri believes that "princes had followed earlier asura theories on statecraft[239]". The King's *purohita* was expected to know at least the *AV* or the *Brahmaveda*[240]. It is said that the Vrātya "went away to the people; *Meeting*, *Assembly*, *Army* and *wine* followed him.......So let the King, to whose house the Vrātya who possesses this knowledge, comes as a guest, honour him as superior to himself." The Vrātya was considered superior to a king and when the number of his followers increased, he formed an assembly. *Senā* may be explained as a concomitant development of the growing

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[236] *RV*–III. 38. 5.

[237] *AV*–XV. 13. 6-7; Cf. Griffith – *Op. Cit.* P. 195—"Punish him quietly by letting him feel that his fraud is detected". Cf. the *Text*—अथ यस्याव्रात्यो व्रात्यब्रुवो (Bogus Vrātya) नाम विभ्रत्यतिथिर्गृहानागच्छेत् । कर्षेदेनं न चैनं कर्षेत् ।

[238] *ADS*–II. 11, 29, 10, 11—"The knowledge of women and Śūdra is a supplement of the Atharva". We should bear in mind here that witchery is an aspiration in the *AV*.

[239] Banerjee Śāstri—*Op. Cit.* P. 61.

[240] *Ibid*–P. 63—refers to the racial amalgamation.

Vrātya organisation. The development of the Vrātya organisation necessitated the formation of an army.

The elevated position of the Vrātyas enabled their *Gṛhapati* to roll in wealth and luxury. Unlimited luxury brought in its train wine (prepared out of the rice beer as Griffith believes and even prevalent to-day in Chotanagpur area of Bihar) and its necessary accompaniment, the harlot.[241] *Puṁścali* was a companion of the Vrātya. All these go to prove that the Vrātyas were not savages but civilised people. The *AV* regarded the institutions of the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti* as originally derived from the Vrātya. The Magadhan kingship is also ascribed by some to have originated from the Vrātya source[242].

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[241] Buddha's description about the *Brāhmaṇas* in the *Ambaṭṭhusutta* very well fits in with the Vrātya culture—"Brāhmaṇas parade about well-groomed, perfumed, trimmed as to their hair and beard, adorned with garlands and gems, clad in white garments, in full possession and enjoyment of the five pleasures of sense... live, as their food, on boiled rice of the best sorts, from which all the black specks had been sought out and removed, and flavoured with sauces and curries of various kinds......waited upon by women with fringes and fur round their loins......go about driving chariots drawn by mares with plaited manes and tails using along wands......have themselves guarded in fortified towns, with moats dug out round them and cross bars let down before the gates, by men girt with long swords,"—Cf. Dr. S.K. Chatterjee—*Origin and Development of Bengali Language*—Vol. I. pp. 45–56.

Cf. Sammaddar—*Op. Cit.* pp. 10–11 ; Sarkār—*Op. Cit.* p. 208.

Cf. *Dīghnikāya* I. 88—Brāhmaṇas are described by Buddha as knowing mystic verse by heart, one who had mastered the Vedas......and the legends as a fifth, learned in the idioms and grammars, versed in the *Lokāyata* sophistry, and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man".

[242] Sarkār—*Op. Cit.* p. 9. The Vrātyas seem to have enjoyed royal status and led a very prosperous and affluent life.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

After a close study of the Vrātyas and their institutions, we may attempt to find out an answer as to their identity. The problem of the Vrātyas is yet an enigma of ancient Indian history and defies all possible explanation. The views on the subject are so confusing, contradictory and over-lapping that one finds it difficult to explain, with clarity of vision, the mystery surrounding the problem of the Vrātyas. In the absence of any definite conclusion on the point, scholars in different parts of the world have flown high in their own ivory towers of imagination with regard to the real meaning and significance of the term "*Vrātya*". It is easy to conjecture and more easy to philosophise a thing or an object having mysterious surrounding. A seeker after truth has to tread thorny paths without any hope of reaching the ultimate goal. That is the case with scholars who are busy with the study of the problem of the Vrātyas. We cannot be sure even at this stage if the present study has succeeded in solving all the problems relating to the Vrātyas. Like various other previous attempts, made earlier, the present study aims to suggest a view-point on the subject with the hope that the future researches might throw some more illuminating light on this thorny problem of our ancient history.

It is an admitted fact that there lived, in the days of yore, peoples of different races and nationalities, in this country, having varied customs. They lived and mixed with each other and there was much of fusion between the foreigners and the natives. Assimilation, if nothing else, is the keystone of Indian culture and this process seems to have worked well even with regard to the absorption of the Vrātyas. Even before the *AV*, we find indirect reference to the Vrātyas representing hordes of people and leading a nomadic life. The *AV* deified Ekavrātya and he holds the same position in the *AV* as Indra in the *Rigveda*. Evidences are there to support the view that the Vrātyas were a people having customs different from the Aryans in many respects. If we assume that they were not a people, why, then, was the leader of the Vrātyas glorified in the *Atharvaveda*? What was the necessity of prescribing certain rites and formulæs for their conversion? What forced Manu and other writers of repute to take care to mention their categories and class them with the fallen? These are some of the questions which arise spontaneously when one cares a little to go through the ancient texts for a study of social and cultural history of India. Keeping in view these problems, we shall discuss below, in short, the history of various aryan and other tribes of ancient India and try to see if the Vrātyas were one of them.

The proto-aryans ancestors of the Rigvedic Indians, we are told, started their cultural career in the northern grasslands of Eurasia as pure-bred pastoral nomads with no settled home.[1] When and how agriculture and cattle-breeding came to be practised, we do not know exactly. It is yet an unsolved problem of anthropology. *Pūṣan* was conceived as the pastoral people's deity. He is described as a multiplier of cattle[2]. His car is drawn by goats[3]. He has been conceived as a peculiar deity in the *RV*. He is regarded as the guardian deity of flocks and herds. *Pūṣā* and *Soma*, taken together, are regarded as generators. These two deities are invoked by the nomads because *Soma* supplied drink and *Pūṣā* meat and milk. Perhaps the nomads were the people who did not like to settle and live like the settled aryans. It appears that the *Vrātas* or

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1. N. N. Ghose—*The Aryan trail in Irān & India*. P. 35.
2. *RV*. VI. 37; Cf. *BD*. I. 82, 118; II. 2, 4, 10, 63; III. 95, 96 (B); V. 148. *Pūṣā* is mentioned with *Rudra* (*BD*–II. 4). *Pūṣā* causes the earth to thrive (*BD*–II. 63).
3. *RV*–V. 53. 8; 58. 2; 55. 3.

hordes of people in the Rigvedic age, leading nomadic life, patronised *Pūṣā* as their deity.

The ‘*Pañcajanāḥ*’’[3](a) of the *RV* also deserve mention here. They are the ‘*Purus*’, ‘*Yadus*’, *Turvaśus*, *Aṇus* and *Drūhyus*. According to Yāska[4], they mean—“*Gandharvas*, *manes*, *gods*, *demons* and other monsters. Some scholars hold that they included the four *Varṇas* and *Niṣādas*, who constituted the fifth according to Upamanyu. Yāska defines them as “Pañca-manuṣya-Jātāni.” Śākaṭāyana, as attributed by the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, explains them as the four *Varṇas* with *Niṣāda* as the fifth. There is no doubt that they were five different peoples, having definite traits of culture. Seceders among them proceeded to the east and with their eastward shift the old names were augmented by entirely new names, perhaps ethnic, but more commonly political[6]. The *Dasyus* undermined the portion of the *Tratsus*, Sudasa’s original subjects, who were the first to depart. All these races marched forward and settled at various centres in the Gangetic valley. It was beyond this area of *Madhyadeśa* that there extended a vast outer circle of all the Vrātyas. The aryans had to leave their homes in the west to drift into the homeless state in the east. Oldenberg beleives that Magadha was the abode of early aryanimmigrants, *i. e.*, they were pioneers in advance of the general body of the aryans and as such were looked down upon by their bretheren[7].

3(a). Cf. *BD*–VII. 66, 69—
—VIII. 69—यास्कौपमन्यवावेतान् आहतुः पञ्चवै जनान् ।
निपादपञ्चमान् वर्णान् मन्यते शाकटायनः ॥
—These are taken to be five races. In *Nirukta* (iii–8) Yāska does not give his own opinion.

4. Yāska—*Nirukta*—III. 8.

5. Yāska—X. 3. 5. 7.

6. *JDL*—IV. p. 13.

7. *Buddha*—P. 10.

The Vrātyastoma hymn of the *PB* definitely refers to the consciousness of having sprung from different races. The idea seems to have been alive till then. They were not the *Dāsas* and differed greatly from the *Tṛtsu-Bharatas* in not being Brāhmanical in culture. Another commentator points out that the Vrātyas were the earlier aryans who had advanced upto Magadha and were so called because they lived upto their old ideals as opposed to the new aryan faith[8]. If the derivation of Vrātya from the *Vrāta* (= horde) is correct, we can just surmise the following. *Vrāta* has been used in the sense of troops[9] *or* hordes of nomadic tribes. In the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*, Rudra is called *Vrātapati* and *Gaṇapati*[10]. Though Vrātya

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8. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana—*Darśana-Digdarśana.*
9. Cf. *RV*–I. 163. 8 ; III. 26. 2 ; V. 53. 11—the troops of the *Marutas* are referred to by three different terms *Śardha, Vrāta* and *Gaṇa* ; IX. 14. 2—an allusion to five tribes ; X. 34, 8, 12 ; X. 57. 5 (*Jīva Vrāta* ; *AV*–II. 9. 2 ; *TS* 1. 8. 10. 2 ; *VS* 16. 25 ; *PB*–VI. 9. 24 ; XVII. 1. 5. 12 ;

Vrāta is also taken to mean '*holy works*' and if derived from that we may take *Vrātyas* to represent a horde of religious people.

—Also Cf. *VS*–XXIX. 46—व्रातान् शूरसमूहान् सहन्ते अभिभवन्ति ते व्रातसाहा: ; Cf. R. C. Mazumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India.* p. 222 ff.

Der Vrātya–P. 186—"Diese Bedeutung Von Vrāta : durch heilige Zeremonien Zusammengebundenen Schar dar Eingeweihten halte ich auf Grund der Resultate der Vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte für die älteste und diesen Vrāta für den Ausgangspunxt aller späteren Entwicklungen. Die Untersuchung der wenigen Steller der Vedischen Literature, in denen Vrāta Vorkommt, hat dargetan, dass das Wort bedeutet : ……Vrāta ist also religionsgeschichlich gesprochen line., heilige "Schar".

Cf. P. 187–188 ; 189 Rudra as *Vrātapati* ; 190–91 ; Cf. *KSS* XXV, 5, 1 (व्रातपतीय—)
ASS II. 12. 6 (व्रातपत)

10. *VS*–XXX. 8 ; *TB*–III. 4, 5, 1.

is included in the list of victims at the *Puruṣamedha* in the *Yajurveda*, no further explanation is given there about it. The Vrātyas seem to have been some moving groups outside the orthodox aryan scheme.[11] The *Sūtras* mention their "*arhantas*" (saints) and "*Yaudhas*" (warriors). There is a clear reference to their nomadic life. That, the Vrātyas were a people[12], is evident from the fact that there occur the words—"*Uṣnīṣa*, *Vipatha*, *pratoda*" etc. Though themselves uninitiated, they spoke the language of the initiated, but calling that, which is easy to utter, difficult. This may mean that the non-Brāhmanical Indians were advancing more rapidly to *Prakṛta* speech, especially if it is legitimate to connect the Vrātyas with the barbarians in speech alluded to in the *SB*[13]. The aryan culture, itself, is nothing more than a synthetic product and most of the *Upanishads* and the *puraṇās* are derived basically from the Vrātya source[14].

The Vrātya theory explains the origin of a number of castes from the sons of twice-born who became Vrātyas for not fulfilling the sacred duties[15]. Manu is explicit on the definition and classification of the Vrātyas. If the three castes do not recieve the sacrament during the prescribed period, they become *Vrātyas* or outcastes, excluded from *Savitrī* and despised by the Aryans[16]. From a Vrātya of the Brāhmaṇa caste spring the wicked *Bhriggakaṇṭaka*, the *Āvantya*, the *Vāṭadhana*, the *Puṣpagadha* and *Saikha*[17]. The commentators are of opinion that all the above mentioned people or races were descended from the Vrātya Brāhmaṇa and a female of his own caste. The *Jhallas*, *Mallas*, *Licchavis*, *Naṭa*, *Karṇa*, *Khaṣa* and the *Draviḍa* are all descended from the Vrātyakṣatriya[18]. The *Sudhanva*, *Ḳārūṣa*, and *Satvata* are descended from the Vrātya Vaiśya[19]. Manu is definite on the point that the Vrātyas had a different way of living, *i. e.*, the Vrātyas cast off a relative, taught the Veda for wages and sold goods which one ought not to sell[20]. With such persons, the Brāhmaṇa should not, even in times of distress, form connection[21] either through the *Vedas* or by marriage. Many castes were formed by a degradation from the original *Varṇas* on account of non-observance of rites. They were a band of nomad non-conformists absolutely independent and not following the aryan way of life[22].

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[11] *PB*-XVII. 1. 2 ; Cf. *Transaction af the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*. XV, XXXI, XXXII.

[12] Bloomfield—*Atharvaveda*. p. 94.

[13] *SB*-III. 2, 1, 23-24.

[14] *IHQ*-X. (S. K. Dey's article) ; *India and the World*-III ; *Prabuddha Bhārata*—XXXIX ; *ABORI*-XVII ; *Man in India*—XVII ; *JBORS*-XXIV; *AV*. VII. 3. 18.

[15] *Manu*-X. 20.

[16] *Ibid*-II. 39.

[17] *Ibid*-X. 21.

Let us now discuss, in brief, the history of the various tribes mentioned by Manu in connection with the Vrātyas. The commentators say that there were someting like castes. Buhler thinks that "it is very probable that all these names originally denoted nation." It is well known that they developed their own institutions and the most prominent among them were the *Mallas*, *Vāṭadhanas*, *Kārūṣa* and the *Licchavis*.

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[18] *Ibid*–X. 22—Cf. N.K. Datta—"*Origin of Castes in India*" Vol. I.

[19] *Ibid*–X. 23.

[20] *Ibid*–XI. 63—Cf. B.R. Ambedkara—'*Who were the Śūdras*" ?—pp. 25, 193-94.

Cf. Muir–*Original Sanskrit texts*. Vol. I. p. 22.

[21] *Ibid*–II. 39. 40.

[22] M. C. Pandya—*Intelligent man's guide to Indian Philosophy*, pp. 272, 288 ; 347

—We learn from the *RV* that Viśvāmitras prayed to Indra to bring their kith and kin under control. It probably refers to an attempt by the *Viśvāmitra* group to bring those who belonged to their own stock but were severed and had gone astray. J. C.Ghose takes them to be the Vrātyas of Magadha ;

Cf.–*JBORS*–XXIV. p. 105 (Part III).

(i) The *Mallas* :—We find the *Mallas* as a powerful people in the time of the Buddha. They are classed with *Aṅgas*, *Vaṅgas* and *Kaliṅgas* in the *Epic*[23]. They belong to the Kṣhatriya caste and according to Manu, they were Vrātyas. Both the Buddhist sources[24] and Kauṭilya agree that they were a *Saṁgha* or corporation. They followed a different religious system and were probably *caitya* worshippers. They believed in the heretical form of worship like Jainism and Buddhism which had nothing to do with the Vedic system.

(ii) The *Vāṭadhanas*—Along with the *Vāhlikas*, *Ābhīras*, *Aparāntakas*, the *Śūdras*, the *Vāṭadhanas* figure prominently in the *Purāṇas*[25]. Manu treats them as Vrātyas. They are taken to be the offsprings of an outcaste Brāhmaṇa woman.

(iii) The *Kārūṣas*—They are ancient people and are referred to in the *MBH* and the *Purāṇas*. *Kārūṣa* was one of the nine sons of Vaivaśvata Manu[26]. Various Kṣhatriya tribes were descended from the *Kārūṣas*. Pargiter believes that they protected northern India from the southern inroads[27]. They are mentioned with *Pancālas*, *Cedis*, *Kāśis* and *Matsyas* in the

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[23] *MBH* (Bhiṣmaparva–IX. 46).

[24] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*–III. p. 971.

[25] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*–LVII. 36 ; 44. There is slightly different reading of the name as *Vāḍhadhana* in the *Vāyu*.–p. XIV. 115 ;
Cf. *Ādiparva*–LXVII. *Sabhāparva*–XXXI. 1190–1, 1. 1826. *Udyogaparva*–III. 86 ; XVIII. 569–601 ; *Bhīṣmaparva*–IX. 354 ; *Droṇaparva*–XI. 398 ;
Cf. *Der Vrātya*–pp. 223–33 ; Cf. Yādavaprakāśa-*Vaijayanti*—व्रात्या क्षत्रसुताश् शत्रुकोशमन्त्रादिवेदिनः ।

[26] *Vāyu*–85. 3-4 ; 86. 2-3 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*–7. 1-2 ; *Śivapurāṇa*–VII. 60. 1-2 ; *Kūrma*–1. 20. 4-6 ; *Garuḍa*–142. 4 ; *Viṣṇu*–IV. 1.14 ; *Bhāg*–XX. 2, 16.

[27] Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

MBH[28] and with the *Matsyas*, *Cedis* and *Bhojas* in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[29]. According to Pargiter, they extended up to the confines of Bihar, a tradition supported by an epigraphic evidence. An insciption found at Masār in the district of Shahābad designates the territory as Kārūṣadeśa[30]. The *Kārūṣa* is mentioned as one of the Vrātya Vaiśyas by Manu. According to Mm. Śāstri *Kārūṣas* gave their name to the country between Kośala and Videha[31].

(iv) The *Licchavis*—They were a great people in eastern India. Kauṭilya mentions them along with the *Vṛjjis*, *Mallas*, *Madras*, *Kukuras*, *Kurupanchāla* and others as "*Rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*" [32]. Kauṭilya distinguishes *Licchavis* from the *Vṛjjis*. Fahien does not mention *Vṛjji* and Hiuentsang describes *Vṛjji* and Vaiśali as two different countries. The *Licchavis* call themselves Kṣhatriyas while Manu calls them *Vrātyakṣhatriya*. The kinship of the *Licchavis* and the *Mallas* is confirmed by the Buddhist sources[33]. *Licchavi* is the name of a race or a tribe and during the time of the Buddha and Mahāvira, they were recognised as Kṣhatriyas. According to Manu, they were not very careful in obeying orthodox regulation about initiation and other matters and as such were termed as "*avrata*". It was here in the *Licchavi* region that the two great heretical

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28. *Bhīṣma*–47. 4 ; 56. 13 ; 54. 8 ; *Droṇa*–8. 28 ; 20-23.
29. *Viṣṇup*–(Wilson) II. pp. 156-90.
30. *ASR*–III. 67-71 ; Cf. *JASB* (1895) p. 255 ; *JRAS* (1914) p. 271 ; *Pāṇini*–IV. 1. 178 ; Martin—*Eastern India*–I. 405 ; N. L. Dey—*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and medieaval India*–p. 95 ; *Bhāgwatapurāṇa*–X. 66 ; *Vāyu*–45 ; *Matsya*–114. 54 ; *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*–57, 53-55.
31. *ML*–18.
32. *Artthśāstra*–p. 455 ; also – Cf. – H. Pandya–"*Notes on the Vajji country and the Mallas of Pāvā*"—
33. *SBE*-XI. 121-22 ; *Diologues of Buddha*. III. 202 ; *JBORS*–VI. p. 259.

faiths like Jainism and Buddhism developed. The prevalence of heretical sects in these regions is indicative of the fact that they were not very much amenable to the orthodox cult of the Aryans, even if they are taken to have descended from the Aryans[33](a).

If these people be taken as Aryans then it must be said that after some time they soon outgrew the influence of their predecessors and developed their own independent system in all spheres. A gloss over the history of eastern India shows that there existed side by side two different political systems and two different streams of intellectual thought. The intellectual, political and moral upheaval in India in the 6th century B. C. is a pointer in this respect as it released a new lease of life. Brāhmanical hold over intellectual life was discarded in favour of a monastic order. The importance of the *Saṁgha* was realised even by an arch imperialist like Kauṭlya who advised Chandragupta Maurya to seek their help as they were united and their unity was never to be broken.

33(a). *Der Vrōtya*—p. 225—"Jedenfalls bestehen enge Zusammenhänge Zwischen den Lichchivi und den religiösen Bewegungen, die sich im Buddhismus Kristallisierten".

P. 227—"Dass bei den Maitreyaka der Zukünftige Buddha im Mittelpunkt stand, ist an Zunehmen. Wir hätten also hier ein Zeugnis fur den Beggin des Mahāyāna–Buddhimus unter den Vrātya".

"Also sind Zur Zeit Manus, der doch wohl eine ältere tradition wiedergibt, auch die Verehrer Kṛṣṇas als Vrātya betrachtet Worden ; hier ist daran Zu erinnern, dass die Vorfahren Buddhas die Rukmiṇī, die Gattin des Kṛṣna, Verehrt haben. Wenn wir bedenken. barkeitszeremonien ruht und dass Viṣṇu selber in BSS als Sthāpati der Vrātya auftritt. also nach uralter Tradition mit den Vrātya aufs engste Verknüpft gewesen sein muss, so brauchen wir uns uber diese Einreihung der Kṛṣṇa-Verehrer unter die Vrātya nicht mehr zu wundern".

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The Vrātyas had some special connection with the people of Magadha and the cult of *Śiva*. The *Vṛjjis* were also regarded as Vrātyas and the *Kuru* bards regarded the *Yādava* chiefs as Vrātyas. Bhandarkar (R.G.) holds that *Rudra-Śiva* had a close connection with Vrātyas who were not included in the Aryan community[34]. *Rudra-Śiva* cult was worshipped by the irregular people. Rudra was the protector of the Vrātyas[35]. He was the ruler of the outcastes[36]. According to Winternitz, the Vrātyas were certain tribes living out side the pale of Brāhmanism[37].

According to Megasthenes, the aryan Indians were surrounded on all sides by the indigenous tribes in a state of barbarism, from whom they differed both in mind and disposition. They were most acutely sensible of this difference. The barbarians were excluded from the Indian common wealth[38]. Megasthenes says that India was peopled by races both numerous and diverse of which not one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous[39]. A description of Dionysos, as given by Megasthenes, deserves consideration here. Dionysos was bred in his father's thigh. He taught arts conducive to the human wellbeing. He showed the people how to worship the deity[40] and introduced Laws

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34. *Collected Works*–IV. 163.
35. *Ibid*–149.
36. *Ibid*–147 ; *RV*. X., 92. 9 (Rudra referred to as *Śiva*) ; *Śukla Yajurveda Saṁ*.–Chapter 16.

    Rudra is said to have wielded the *Pināka* bow. The *Śiśnadevas* do not refer to the worshipper of Śivaliṅga. Yāksa and Sāyana explain *Śiśnadevas* as those who were too much addicted to sexual pleasure. Śrīkara in his commentary on *Brahmasūtra* (2. 2. 42) quotes *RV Saṁhita* (V. 3. 3) in which he says that there is a reference to Viṣṇu worshipping the Śivaliṅga.
37. *Op. Cit.*—
38. Sarkar—*Op. Cit.* 53–"The Vrātyas correspond to the Non ailas".
39. Mcrindle–*Ancient India*–pp. 20-21.
40. *PAIOC*–III. pp. 265 ff. Cf. *CR* (May 1924) for his views on the Vrātyas.

and Courts of justice. He was regarded as a deity and he gained immortal honours[41]. At the head of an army, he is said to have marched to every part of the world[42] He is also called *Katapogon* probably because he nourished his beards with great care. The description of Dionysos is strikingly similar to that of Ekavrātya. Mr. Chattopadhyāya identifies Boudyas, son of Dionysos, with Buddha Saumāyana, Sthapati of the Daiva Vrātyas. It may be pointed out, however, that Dionysos[43] "made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west", while we know that the Vrātyas were connected with the east. Of course, some western tribes have been designated as Vrātyas in the *MBH* and the *Purāṇas*, but the fact remains that the Vrātyas were connected with the east. Ekavrātya is associated with the Rājanya culture of the east. It is remarkable to note that Dionysos is also connected with the origin of royalty in India. The reference to beverage in the *AV*, made of rice, is also supported by the Greek sources[44]. Hence one is tempted to identify Dionysos with Ekavrātya.

The dress, equipments and companions of the Vrātyas are also important in so far as the study of their identity is concerned. The dress of the Śiśunāga statues appears to have consisted of *Vāsasī* or two pieces of cloth, upper and lower (*Dhoti* and *Chādar*), a pair of *Upānaḥ* or shoes, umbrella, *Uṣṇīṣa*, a pair of ear ornaments, a *niṣka* or necklace. This is the dress, prescribed for a Brāhmaṇa, who has finished his

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[41] Mcrindle–*Op. Cit.*–36.

[42] *Ibid*–P. 35–*note*—"The place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist".
For the present, we cannot accept the findings of Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya.

Cf. *Der Vratyas*–p. 240.

[43] Macrindle–*Op. Cit.* p. 35.

[44] *Ibid*–p. 68.

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education (*AGS*). If we study the Śiśunāga dress in the light of *KSS* (XXII. 4.), it is apparent that the Śiśunāga statues are clad in one piece, the upper part of the body being left bare. There is a strong similarity between the dress of these statues and those of the Vrātyas. The two strings are also visible in the statues. The lower garment in the statues is fastened by two strings, the more prominent one going round the waist and being tied with a knot, in front of it the two ends of which are hanging over the garment. On the left there is another string, hanging in two folds over the garment. Kātyāyana's *Karṇāli* (ear ornament) can also be seen in the statues. There is a *niṣka* in the statues. The partly broken statues are bare-footed. Mm. Śāstri believes that while writing on the Vrātyas, Kātyāyana had the Vrātyas of Magadha in mind. Regarding the inscription on the statues, Mm. Śāstri observes—

"I would go straight and say it Vrātya Nāndi, Vrātya being used in good sense....The words '*Bhage*' and '*Vaṭa*' are the names. 'Vaṭa' represents the idea that the statue should have dignity of a Vrātya king and '*Bhage*' means power. '*Sabakhato*' in all dominion...." (*JBORS* – V – Part IV. PP, 554 – ff. ; Cf – my – '*Select Inscriptions of Bihar* – P. 1).

There can be little doubt that there existed in India a non-orthodox cult marked by a high spiritual eminence. These cults were connected with Magadha. The *Atharvana* hymns, read with Vrātyastoma section of the *TMB*, *JB* and the *Sūtras*, tend to show that the Vrātya was a respectable personage withal differing from the followers of the orthodox Vedic church. Since the *AV* was connected with the Vrātyas, it was not considered to be a *Veda* at all. Even a later tradition preserves a very derogatory story about the *AV*[44](a). Vrātya

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44(a). In an outrageous story preserved in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (Chapter III), Pippalāda, the reputed author of the *AV*, is described as being born of the illicit union of the nun Sulasā and the ascetic Jannavakka. He is deserted by his parents as soon as he is born, but grows to be an eminent Vedic scholar. In is the benefactor of human society. As a benefactor of mankind he is always on the move.[45] He propitiates all and thereafter becomes the ruler of the people. He completly follows the aspiration of his subjects and the popular assembly, the council, army and treasury all become amenable to his wishes[46]. The Vrātya tradition was sufficiently deeprooted as we find that when Kauśitaka, the leader, left the Vrātya camp, he kept the system of *Āsandi* intact[47].

Vrātyas possessed knowledge about silver and generally used silver ornaments. It is doubtful if they had any knowledge of iron. We have no definite proof about their knowledge of iron, though they were so intimately associated with Bihar. They thrived on the labour of others and did not take to agriculture. It seems that they continued to be wanderers in different directions for sufficiently long period. After they settled, they had a regular flow of edibles and cereals by way of *Dakṣiṇā* or offerings. Those, who adopted their system later on, came to be called as heretics by the orthodox thinkers. Dr. Sarkar believes that the *Atharvaveda* is a book of the

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course of time, he comes to know the circumstances of his birth, and invents the *AV* and its black magic in order to take revenge upon his parents..........This is the Jain version of the origin of the magic rites of the *AV*. Cf. K. K. Handiqui-*Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*-pp. 380-81.

[45] *AV*-XV. 1. 1.

[46] *Ibid*-XV. 9. 1.

Cf. *Der Vratya*-p. 315—"Als die Vrātya-Religion durch die Bekehrung bedeutender Fuhrer Zu der orthodoxen Richtung diese beeinflusste, Vollzog sich hier eine neue Entwicklung, Welche durch die Upaniṣaden angezeigt īst, in denen der Ekavrātya als höchstes Princip erscheint. Es Sind, wie wir schon gesehen haben und noch sehen werden, Vor allem die Upaniṣaden, in denen Prāṇa, die grosse Urmacht des Mahāvrata, und Rudra-Śiva als oberste Gottheiten Verehrt Wurden.......".

[47] *BA*-

Aṅgirasas of the lower Gangetic plain. Some aspects of Vedic culture are associated with Bihar and some of the Vedic styles were derived from the Vrātya and Magadhan sources[47(a)]. The *Prāchya* was occupied by the Vrātyas. They occupied an area "assigned[48] by tradition to a stock different from the *Mānavas* and the *Ailas* but with superimposed layers of *Ailas*".

The exact meaning of the word '*Māgadha*' has not yet been conclusively brought out. *Māgadha* means one belonging to Magadha country *or* a professional bard. It is due to the obscurity of the Vrātya book that the proper meaning of the passages, connected with Magadha, is not altogether clear. It is, therefore, possible to suggest that here the dissolute minstrel might be intended. Still the connection, set forth in the *Srautasūtras* of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyana, as well as in the corresponding passages of the *Katiyasūtras*, between the *Vrātyas* and *Magadhadeśiya Brahmabandhus* and the hatred with the Magadhans, both lead us to interpret the *Māgadha* of the Vrātya book as a heretical teacher[49]. It is said that after their conversion, the Vrātyas should bestow all their belongings upon an inferior Brāhmaṇa who has been omitting, for long, *Saṅdhyopāsanā* and who hails from Magadha *or* the belongings should be given away to those who have not yet abandoned Vrātya practices[50]. Even when the Vrātyas were converted, Magadha continued to be a centre of various heretical sects. Magadha was the centre of Vrātya culture and that point is supported by Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana. On account of the exaltation of the Vrātyas, it has now been difficult, rather obscure, to trace their actual origin and lineage.

47(a). R. K. Chaudhary–*History of Bihar*–Introduction.

[48] Sarkar–*Op. Cit.* p. 46.

[49] Weber–*History of Indian Literature*–p. 112.

[50] KSS–XXII. 4. 24-25; According to some *Māgadha* refers to 'Geya'–अविरतेभ्यो वा व्रात्यचरणात् ।

The result has been that for a sufficiently long period a *Māgadha* was prescribed for an undignified rite only[51].

The Māgadhas have been referred to be of mixed origin[52]. Even the *Licchavis* were not very friendly to the orthodox Hinduism, and were always found among the foremost champions of heretical creeds. Same is the case with *Vṛṣṇi-Andhakas,* who are classed as Vrātyas in the *MBH* (*Droṇaparva* 141. 15). *Sātvatas* were the progenitors of the *Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas* were defeated by the *Bharatas*. Owing to the pressure of the

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[51] Cf. *JB*–II. 404 ; The *Puruṣamedha* was a symbolic rite...... These are enumerated in the *VS* XXX. 5. 22 ; *TB*. III. 4 ; *SB*–XIII. 6. 2. 12. 13—"Now, the victims had the fire carried round them, but they were not yet slaughtered. Then a voice said to him, Puruṣa, do not consummate.........". *KSS*–XXI. 1. 12; *Vaitāna SS*–XXXVII. 10 ff; *Sāṅkhyāyana SS*–XVI. 10 In both the Sūtras —"this sacrifice is represented as being undertaken...for the healing of the sacrificer's bodily infirmities...... might seem sufficient to stamp the ceremony as one partaking more of the nature of the superstitious rites of the *Atharvan* priests than that of the great sacrifices of the traditional *Śrauta* rituals". Keith holds that the ritual is "merely a priestly invention to fill up the apparent gap in the sacrificial system which provided no place for man". According to Hillebrandt, this was a relic of the barbaric age (Cf *Ritual Literature*–p. 153).

[52] *BDS*–I. 1. 29. Vrātyas were those who were degraded from their castes by neglet of their religious duties. Among the castes, branded as fallen, in the *VS*–XXX. 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18 are—(i) *Niṣāda* ; (ii) *Vrātya*–(a band of nomad non-conformists of aryans extraction but absolutely independent and not following aryan way of life) ; (iii) *Bheel* ; (iv) *Kirāta* ; (v) *Pulaska* ; (vi) *Chaṇḍāla*—Hunters, Fishermen, savages were included in this class of degraded persons. Also Cf. *Yājñavalkya*–I. 38 ; *Manu*–II. 39.

For—Magadha being associated with *Magas* of Arakan—Cf. *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* Chapters 139 & 140, *Paurava* line of Magadha, there was an exodus of the *Yādavas* from Mathura. This was further accelerated by the *Kurus*. From all these, one can deduce that the Magadhan culture was decidedly a non-Vedic one. The extravagant faith in spells and *mantras*, in the *AV*, is unknown to the earlier *Vedas*. All these and other factors signify that the eastern Vrātya culture of the Gangetic valley was possibly pre-historic and the later details came to be worked out after the aryan settlement in India and their contact with the Vrātyas. The aryans, after coming into contact with the pre-historic Vrātya culture, sought the protection of Rudra for safety, security and peace on all sides[53]. We find *Ādityas*, *Rudras* and *Vasus* worshipping Aṅgirasa[54].

There is no evidence to show that the *Śukla-āryas* ever even entered the country lying immediately east of the Indus. When they first formed their deep laid plans for the creation of Brāhmanism and caste, the *Dasyu* instigated priestly factions among the *dark-five* and their associates made up their mind to filch all these vital elements from *Śukla-āryas*—race, name race tradition, language, religion, philosophy, in a disguised, form, and culture generally; and then to cut themselves adrift from their exploited victims; to throw them aside, like sucked oranges, to have nothing more to do with them, except by way of aspersion[55].

The *Niṣādas* and the *Vāhlikas* have also been classed as Vrātyas in ancient literature. The *Vāhlikas* are said to have established themselves, with all their booty, in the renowned *Madhyadeśa* and claiming to be aryans[56]. The *Vāhlikas* also figure in the *Mehrauli pillar inscription*[57]. Vāhlika is in the north probably near the oxus. Dr. D. R. Bhaṇḍarkar[58] placed it on the Vipāśā (on the authority of the *Rāmāyaṇa*). Dr. D. C. Sircar rejects this identification with the help of the *MBH*[59]. According to the *MBH* (*Karṇaparva* – 44. 10), the people of Vāhlika were not descended from Prajāpati. It was outside the pale of Brahmāvarta[60] and was as such classed along with the Vrātyas, as pointed out earlier. Various tribes within the area were called '*Naṣṭadharma*[61].' All these people, enumerated above were outside the pale of Brāhmanism and, as such, called Vrātya or fallen. The "*Pañcha-Janāḥ*" were "dark warrior peoples" and were intruders into the *Saptasindhava.* They were not the aryans[62].

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[53] Griffith–*Op. Cit.*–P. 277 ; *AV*–XIX. 18. 3.

[54] *Ibid*–443 – ; XX. 135. 9.

[55] *JDL*–IV. 41.

[56] *Ibib*–42.

[57] *CII*–III. 141, Verse I.

—यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रूसामेत्यागता·

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the Vrātyas were a class of people different from the aryans. From a study of the Vrātya culture, it is evident that in all matters they were at poles apart from the Vedic aryan. All authorities agree that the Vrātyas were those who were considered to be fallen from the path of the Vedic orthodoxy, *or* regulation. They did not abide by the Vedic law *or* custom. It appears that they were a people of northern India, since time immemorial, following their own distinct customs and regulations. The facts, at our disposal, point to a period when these people had not totally given up their nomadic habits. The *AV* also confirms that the Vrātyas moved in all directions. In course of their movement, they came into contact with different sorts

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त्वेङ्गष्वाहवर्तिनोऽमिलिखिताखड्गेनकीर्तिर्भुजे ।
तीर्त्वासप्तमुखानि येनसमरे सिन्धोर्ज्जितावाह्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्च्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ।

[58] *JAHRS*–X. 86 ff.

[59] *Kane Commemoration Volume*–p. 440.

[60] Cunningham—*Geography of ancient India*–pp. 247, 686-87 ; Cf. V. S. Agrawal–"*Patañjali and Vāhikagrāma*" in the '*Indian Culture*' (1939–October) pp. 129 ff.

[61] *Karṇa Parva*–44, 32.

[62] *JDL*–VII. 260 ff.

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of persons and there was some sort of interchange of cultural ideas. The *AV* must have been taken into the Vedic fold only after the assimilative character of the Vedic aryans had reached its peak and it was only after that assimilation of different races that the leader of the Vrātyas was glorified. The absorption of the erstwhile hated Śiva along with Rudra is an indication in this direction. The classes, designated as Vrātyas in the Epic, the *Purāṇas* and *Sūtra* literature are different and all of them have different customs altogether. Their apathy towards the Vedic orthodoxy is only common point among them and possibly for this reason only, all of them were treated as Vrātyas.

In different regions where these peoples lived, they had their own customs and ways of living. After the end of the nomadic habits, they stabilised themselves in different regions and developed their own institutions, but of all these, the people of eastern India showed marked development. While there was a movement towards imperialist expansion under the hegemony of Magadha, there began at the same time the experiment in democratic government among the *Licchavis*, *Vṛjjis*, *Mallas*, *Śākyas* and so on. The heretical movements like the *Ājīvikas*, *Jainas* and the *Buddhists* found their ground ready in this part of eastern India and in the early historical period, Buddhism, though born in Magadha, received its garb in Avanti. All these remarkable and unprecedented developments in the realm of political thought and culture made Magadha and other parts of eastern India as the pronounced centre of Vrātya culture and an object of aspersion by orthodox thinkers. It was after the aryanisation of Mithilā that these heretical movements gained momentum. Why and how was it possible ? This was so because of the inherent original culture of the easterners, who, even after being aryanised, refused to give up their age-old tradition and customs. Viewed in this context, the question is not of the fact whether the Vrātyas were aryans or non-aryans but of the cultural traits of the entire easterners.

The peculiarities of the Vrātyas were the national traits of all the easterners. Other peoples, not following Vedic custom, were also classed as Vrātyas for the same reason. Their individuality could not be crushed even by those aryans, who considered themselves to be supreme. In this context, it would be better if we try, with the help of other sources, to find out many more details of the cultural contributions of the Vrātyas. Anthropology may prove to be of some help in this connection. The Vrātyas were the original inhabitants of eastern India and their hold was so great that they succeeded in overpowering culturally the Aryans in many respects. The *Atharvaveda* and the *Kauśitaki Upanishad* are the living examples of their contribution in the intellectual field. The *Purāṇas* preserve a good account of the Vrātya tradition and even now a good number of people living in different corners of north-eastern Indîa, remind us of the existence of a separate culture in ancient Bihar. Bihar, through the ages, has made remarkable contributions towards the development of our national thought and culture. The Vrātyas were the forerunners of all radical movements of later times. A thorough investigation of all aspects of Vrātya history is yet a desideratum. Whatever sources are there, they belong to a tradition oppossed to the Vrātyas. A patient investigation of all the sources can help us in removing the mystery surrounding the problem of the Vrātyas.

They belonged to Magadha in the east. They were nomadic tribes and devoid of all orthodoxy in the beginning. Their tribal character is evident if we accept the derivation of the term from '*Vrāta*' (used in the sense of multitude). They were not governed by the rules of caste. As the original inhabitants of India, they were the worshippers of Śiva and that is why the Ṛigvedic people looked upon them with abhorrence. The cult of the Vrātya is associated with the pre-historic form of Śiva. It is only in the Vrātya tradition (Praśna and Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad of the Atharvaveda) that we have a succint account of their cult. It may be suggested here that the *AV* (at least the XVth. Kāṇḍa) is a fragment of the traditional literary output of the Vrātyas. The latest research on the subject (A. C. Banerjee.–*Studies in the Brāhmaṇas*—Delhi-1963) does not seem to have made any considerable progress in so far as the interpretation of the Vrātya is concerned. A. C. Banerje says—"It represents an independent tradition of certain tribes who may have had some affinity with the Bhṛgu-Aṅgirasas. They were formerly *Rājanyas* with esoteric beliefs, and ritual practices, which were recorded in a Brāhmaṇa completely lost to us" (*Ibid*. P. 133). What forced the Brāhmaṇas to create myth around the Vrātyas and their tradition is yet an unsolved enigma in the realm of indological knowledge. We have in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* a detailed account of the Vrātya way of life. Their culture is depicted not only in the *AV* but in a number of later texts. They were different from the Brāhmaṇas only as far as their adherence to a different form of ritual was concerned. The intimate connection of the Vrātyas with the Vainyas is a point to be reckoned with in the post-Vedic period. The Vrātyas did not attach any importance to the act of purification and the entire range of primitive rites came under the purview of the Vrātya system.

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APPENDIX-I

कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र (कर्कभाष्य)

XXII.4.1-27

(Original Text and translation in English)

(Translated by the author)

कर्कभाष्यसहितम् कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रम्

(-cf. कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रम् edited by विद्याधर शर्मा काशी संवत् १९८७).

(चत्वारो व्रात्यस्तोमा गणयज्ञाः।)

XXII-4

(1) व्रात्यस्तोमाश्चत्वारः—

अग्निष्टोमसंस्थाकार्याः। (Kasi ed.) व्रात्यस्तोमसंज्ञकाश्चत्वारः क्रतवो भवन्ति। व्रात्याः प्रसिद्धा एव त्रिपुरुषं पतितसावित्रीकाः। प्रायश्चित्तार्थत्वाच्च लौकिकेऽग्नौ भवन्ति। न ह्येतैराधानं प्रयुज्यते, अतदङ्गत्वात्।

षोडशवर्षा अप्यनुपनीतास्त्रयः पुरुष येषां ते सावित्रीपतिता व्रात्याः। अन्येऽपि ये द्विजातिकर्म परित्यज्य हीनकर्माचरणशीलास्तेऽपि व्रात्याः। तेषां स्तोमा व्रात्यस्तोमाः।

(लाट्या० ८।६ –'Kashi ed')

There are four kinds of sacrificial rites which are commonly known as 'Vrātya-Stoma'. The Vrātyas are well-known as those who from three successive generations have been deprived of the Sāvitrī. And because these (rites) are expiatory, they are held in ordinary fire. They do not require lighting sacred fire, as it does not form its part.

(2) व्रात्यगणस्य ये सम्पादयेयुस्ते प्रथमेन यजेरन् ॥

१—ये व्रात्या नृत्यगीतवाद्यशस्त्रधारणादौ स्वयं प्रवीणाः सन्तः उपदेटारो भूत्वा स्वां विद्यां व्रात्यसमूहस्य सम्पादयेयुः शिक्षेयुः पाठयेयुः ते प्रथमेन यजेरन्।

Those Vrātyas well versed in the arts of dancing, music, instrumental music, and bearing of arms and weapons teaching the same to the other Vrātyas should perform the sacrificial rites of the first order.

(3) सम्पादनं च गायननर्तकादीनाम्। तेषां प्रथमेऽधिकारः ॥

(This is not in the Kashi edition)

This training is imparted to the musicians and dancers (among the Vrātyas). They are entitled to the first (Kind of Vrātya Stoma).

कर्कभाष्यसहितम् कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रम्

(-cf. कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रम् edited by विद्याधर शर्मा काशी संवत् १९८७).

(चत्वारो व्रात्यस्तोमा गणयज्ञाः।)

XXII-4

(1) व्रात्यस्तोमाश्चत्वारः—

अग्निष्टोमसंस्थाकार्याः। (Kasi ed.) व्रात्यस्तोमसंज्ञकाश्चत्वारः क्रतवो भवन्ति। व्रात्याः प्रसिद्धा एव त्रिपुरुषं पतितसावित्रीकाः। प्रायश्चित्तार्थत्वाच्च लौकिकेऽग्नौ भवन्ति। न ह्येतैराधानं प्रयुज्यते, अतदङ्गत्वात्।

षोडशवर्षा अप्यनुपनीतास्त्रयः पुरुष येषां ते सावित्रीपतिता व्रात्याः। अन्येऽपि ये द्विजातिकर्म परित्यज्य हीनकर्माचरणशीलास्तेऽपि व्रात्याः। तेषां स्तोमा व्रात्यस्तोमाः।

(लाट्या० ८।६ –'Kashi ed')

There are four kinds of sacrificial rites which are commonly known as 'Vrātya-Stoma'. The Vrātyas are well-known as those who from three successive generations have been deprived of the Sāvitrī. And because these (rites) are expiatory, they are held in ordinary fire. They do not require lighting sacred fire, as it does not form its part.

(2) व्रात्यगणस्य ये सम्पादयेयुस्ते प्रथमेन यजेरन् ॥

१—ये व्रात्या नृत्यगीतवाद्यशस्त्रधारणादौ स्वयं प्रवीणाः सन्तः उपदेटारो भूत्वा स्वां विद्यां व्रात्यसमूहस्य सम्पादयेयुः शिक्षेयुः पाठयेयुः ते प्रथमेन यजेरन्।

Those Vrātyas well versed in the arts of dancing, music, instrumental music, and bearing of arms and weapons teaching the same to the other Vrātyas should perform the sacrificial rites of the first order.

(3) सम्पादनं च गायननर्तकादीनाम्। तेषां प्रथमेऽधिकारः ॥

(This is not in the Kashi edition)

This training is imparted to the musicians and dancers (among the Vrātyas). They are entitled to the first (Kind of Vrātya Stoma).

(4) द्वितीयेन निन्दिता नृशंसाः—

१—ये नृशंसा निन्दिता नृभिर्मनुष्यैरभिशंसनेन पापाध्यारोपणेन निन्दिताः गर्हिताः ज्ञातिभिर्बहिष्कृताः ते द्वितीयेन यजेरन्।

Those base persons charged (by honourable men) of sins and excommunicated should perform the rites of the second order.

(5) तृतीयेन कनिष्ठा :—

तपसा कनिष्ठाः = युवान एव ज्ञातिभिर्बहिष्कृताः शुद्धयर्थं तृतीयेन व्रात्यस्तोमेन यजेरन् (ताण्ड्य—१७।३।२)।

The youngers (should perform the rites) with the third one.

(6) ज्येष्ठाश्चतुर्थेन :—(१७।४।३ ताण्ड्य)।

The elders are entitled to the rites of the fourth order.

(व्रात्यस्तोमे गृहपति) काशी

ज्येष्ठशब्दार्थमाह—

(7) अपेन प्रजनना स्थविरास्तदाख्याः—

तेषां यो नृशंसस्तमः स्याद् द्रव्यवत्तमोवाऽनूचानतमो वा।

The old persons having retired from the act of procreation are known as ज्येष्ठाः

तस्य महिपते दीक्षरेण। (Kāshi)

Com. अपगतप्रजननेन्द्रियसामर्थ्या यौवनापगमनेन स्थविरा वृद्धा ज्येष्ठसंज्ञा भवन्ति। तेषां मध्ये यो निन्दिततमादिः स गृहपतिकार्यः। व्रात्यस्तोमाश्च लौकिकेऽग्नौ कार्या इति कर्काचार्यः (१।१।१४)। तेनात्र गार्हपत्योऽग्निर्लौकिक एव नाधाननिष्पन्नः। व्रात्यस्तोमार्थमाधानं कार्यमित्यपरे। तथा च गृह्यकारिकाकारः—"अभार्यस्यानधीतस्य स्यादाधानं तदर्थतः।" (९।१४५)—(Kashi ed.)

(8) तेषां यो नृशंसत्तमः स्याद् द्रव्यवत्तमो वाऽनूचानतमो वा तस्य गार्हपते दीक्षेरन्।

Among them, one, who happens to be the basest, the richest and the most (devoted to learning) well-behaved, should be installed in the position and dignity of a householder.

(9) तस्य भक्षमनुभक्षयन्त आसीरन्।

They should eat the remainder of his food.

(No. 8 of Kashi) इतरे व्रात्या गृहपतेर्भक्षं सोमादिकं भक्षयन्त आसीरन्। यजमानचमसादिकं प्रथमे गृहपतिर्भक्षयति, पश्चादितरे भक्षयन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ८ ॥

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(10) व्रात्यधनानि भवन्ति ।

There are properties of a Vrātya. (They are as follows). वक्ष्यमाणान्युष्णीषादीनि व्रात्यानां धनानि भवन्ति (ताण्ड्य–१७।१।१४-१५)– ॥ ९ ॥

(11) तिर्यङ्नद्धमुष्णीषं प्रतोदः

A turban obliquely wound round the head and a long whip—एक व्रात्यधनमिदम्–(10 of Kashi)

11 of Kashi—प्रतोदः—अनडुत्प्रेरणसाधनं प्राजनः = प्रतोदः । इदं द्वितीयं व्रात्यधनम् ॥ ११ ॥

(12) 'ज्याह्रोडोऽयोग्यं धनुस्तदाख्यम् स्वकार्यं साधनासमर्थं धनुस्तदाख्यं ज्याह्रोडशब्दवाच्यमित्यर्थः । is 13 of Kashi edition—

A kind of bow not used for shooting. इदं तृतीयं व्रात्यधनं ॥ १२ ॥

(13) वासः कृष्णशं कद्रु (14 of Kashi)

Note—कृष्णमशितं येन तत्करणे न कृष्णशमित्युच्यते । कृष्णसूत्रोतमित्यर्थः। तत्कद्रूवाख्यम् ।

(They wear) clothes woven out of blackish thread ; the clothes are also called Kadru (reddish-brown).

—कृष्णसूत्रोतमित्यर्थः । कृष्णसूत्रोतं वासः कद्रु इत्युच्यते–तदपि व्रात्यधनम् ।

(14) स्वयमकृष्णं सत् यत्कृष्णदशं वासः तद्वा कद्रूवाख्यम्—अकृष्णं कृष्णदशं वा तदाख्यम् । (15 of Kashi)

The 'Kadru' may also be referred to a cloth which has a black selvage.

(15) फलकास्तीर्णो विपथः । (16 of Kashi)

Their chariot is covered with planks (फलक may also mean fruit)—फलकैरास्तीर्ण आच्छादितो विपथः = अमार्गगामी रथः । सोऽपि व्रात्यधनम् । (*Sic.*)

(16) अश्वाश्वतराभ्यां कम्प्राभ्यां युक्तः स्यादित्येके । (17 of Kashi)

It is driven by two agile mules or horses. (Some are of this opinion) (*Sic.*)

(17) निष्को राजतः (18 of Kashi)—राजतो निष्कः कण्ठाभरणं व्रात्यधनम् ।

(They wear) an ornament made of silver for neck or breast.

(18) अजिने पार्श्वसहिते कृष्णवलक्षे मेषयोश्चर्मणी पार्श्वतस्तन्तुभिः स्यूतैः आविके। संलग्ने शुक्लकृष्णवर्णे व्रात्यधनम् ।

They wear the hairy skin of a black antelope (together with black and white woollen blankets.) भवतः

(19) तद्गृहपतेः ।

This much about the householder (गृहपति)

(20) एवमेवाजिनानीतरेषाम् ।

Note :—इतरेषां व्रात्यानामेवमेवाजिनानि भवन्ति—

The other Vrātyas also wear similar skin of the antelopes as referred to above.

आविकानि पासांसि = मेषरोमनिर्मितानि वस्त्राणि गृहपत्यतिरिक्तानां सर्वेषां व्रात्यानां धनानि भवन्ति । कीदृशानि, दामतूषाणि । तूषो = वस्त्राणि ।

(21) दामतूषाणि वलूकान्तानि द्विचूडान्याविकानि वासाꣳसि लोहितान्तानि कृष्णान्तानि वा तदाख्यानि ।

The Vrātyas (other than the householder) wear blankets having two *protuberances* red or black threads for fringes, and clothes with red or black borders.

(22) द्वे द्वे दामनी उपानहौ च कर्णिन्यौ कृष्णेस्यातामित्येके ॥ दामनी द्वे द्वे ॥

(23) उपानहौ च कर्णिन्यौ कृष्णे स्यातामित्येके ॥

Some say that they wear black shoes furnished with flaps.

(24) मागधदेशीयाय ब्रह्मबन्धवे दक्षिणाकाले व्रात्यधनानि दद्युः । –(सर्वं एव व्रात्या पूर्वोक्तानि व्रात्यधनानि दद्युः (Lat. 8/6/28)

Note :—सर्वं एव व्रात्याः मगधदेशनिवासी यः स ब्रह्मबन्धुभिर्जायते स मागधदेशीयब्रह्मबन्धुः तस्मै दधुः । अपरे तु मागधं गेयमाहुः । तत्र यो देशीयः ईषदसमाप्तौ देशीय इत्युच्यते तस्मै दधुः ॥

All the Vrātyas should bestow all the belongings of the Vrātyas (as enumerated above) upon an inferior Brāhman who has been omitting, for long, Sandhyopāsana and who hails from Magadha. According to some 'māgadha' refers to 'Geya'.

(25) अविरतेभ्यो वा व्रात्यचरणाद्

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Or (the belongings of the Vrātyas should be given away to) those who have not yet abandoned Vrātya practices.

(26) तेष्वेव मृजाना यन्तीति श्रुतेः (Tāṇḍya 17-1-16)
तेषु व्रात्येषु पापिष्वेव पापं मृजानाः शोधयन्तो यान्ति पूततां प्राप्नुवन्ति इति श्रवणात् ।

(27) of Kashi—त्रयस्त्रिंशं शतं दक्षिणां ददुः
N. सर्वं व्रात्यागादधुः—

(28) द्विगुणागृहपतिरित्येके ।
N. द्विगुणा गा—

(29) व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा व्रात्यभावाद्विरमेयुः
Having performed the sacrificial rites after 'Vrātya-Stoma' they should desist from Vrātya way of life.

(30) व्यवहार्या भवन्ति—

APPENDIX-II

Relevant extracts from the **Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa**

(or the **Tān. B**)

Translated by Caland

(i) XVII ;

(ii) Relevant portions re : Rudra.

"Pañcaviṃs'a Brāhmana" or Tāndya Mahā Br.

Chapter 17.

XVII. 1. (Page 454)

1. The Gods, forsooth, went to the world of heavens; of them the adherents of 'the God' were left behind (on earth), leading a Vrātya life. They came to the spot whence the gods were gone to the world of heaven. (But) they found neither that Stoma nor that metre by means of which they might reach them. Then the Gods said to the Maruts : 'Deliver ye to these that Stoma, that metre, by means of which they may reach us.' To them they (the Maruts) delivered that Sixteen-Versed Stoma, (which) cryptically (is) the anuṣṭubh. Thereupon they reached them.

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[*Note :*—It is said in Jaim-Bra-that the Vrātyas did not reach the world of heaven, because they *had offended either that God which blows here (the wind) or the mighty God (isānāṃ devaṃ i. e. Rudraṃ)* The meaning of the expression "*Vrātyān pravasanti*" is unknown. Perhaps *Vrātyām pravasanti* is elliptic for *Vrātyām vasatin pravasanti* "leading the life of a joined group" from Vrāta].

2. Those who lead the life of a joined group, are destitute, left behind. For they neither practise the study of the veda nor do they plough or trade. It is by the Sixteen-Versed Stoma that this can be reached.

3. This is a stoma of the Maruts—The Smaller metres belong to the Maruts.

4. He shifts the Kakubh (Verse and Sāmans chanted on it) to the fore-part; in that, at the place of the kakubh, this dvipadā (verse) is applied, he, thereby, makes them prosper in regard to their own nature.

5. (The verses, beginning) : 'For, O Indra who lovest the chants,' are (of) unequal metre. The joined group is unequal, as it were. He makes them equal (by applying the verses of this metre).

6. On these (verses) the dyautāna (–sāman) (is chanted as third Pṛṣtha-Land).

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7. Dyutāna, who belonged to the Marutas, was their (of the Vrātyas) "Householder." They (the Vrātya) performed this (Vrātya)—Stoma and all of them came to prosperity. That there is the sāman, is for prospering.

8. If they were to undertake (i. e. to chant) the finale "expressedly," only the Grhpati would prosper and he would repel the others (from prosperity). By the fact, (however), that they undertake it "unexpressedly", he firmly establishes all of them (i. e. all the other Vrātyas) in prosperity or in the welfare.

[*Note* :—Anirukta Nidhana refers to all the deities and all the Vrātyās).

9. Swallowing poison are those, who eat foreign food as Brāhman's food, (Vide-2-Baudh—XVIII. 24 अथयद व्रात्यवादम् वदन्ति दीक्षित वादस्य तद्रूपम्), who call good words bad, who use to strike the guiltless with a stick, who, though being not initiated speak the speech of the initiated. The guilt of these may be removed by the Sixteen-Versed Stoma. That (in this rite) there are four Sixteen-Versed (Stomas), there by, they are freed from their guilt.

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10. (The verses, beginning) : 'The God who bestoweth wealth, must be taken for agnistoma Sāman; he establishes them (Vrātyas) among the deities.

11. But they (the Theologians) say also : 'It should be applied on the Satobṛhati (Verses), beginning. 'The progress-gaining has shown himself.' A joined group is unequal, as it were; he makes all of them equally elevated (Sato bṛhatar).

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12. About this (matter,) they (other theologians) say: The metre Satobṛhati is loose, as it were. and) shaking; it (agnistoma-laud) must, (therefore, rather) be performed on the verses. 'The god who bestoweth wealth.'

13. 'Firmly established (on the contrary) is the bṛhati with its repeated verse quarter. In that he begins a verse quarter anew, therefore, the (suckling) child longs ofter its mother.

14. A turban, a goad, a bow without arrow, a board-covered rough Vehicle, a garment with black fringes, two goat-skins, one white, one black, a silver ornament (worn around the neck), (all) that is (the equipment) of the Gṛhpati.

[*Note* :—The meaning of *Jyāhroda*—is unknown to the sūtrakāras—According to Baudhāyan–The Vrātyas are provided with a bow and three arrows in leathern of quivers).

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15. The other (Vrātyas) have (upper garments) with red borders and corded fringes, with strings at each side; each of them has a pair of shoes and a doubly joined goat's hides.

16. This is the possession of the Vrātyas; on him, to whom they bestow (this possession), they transfer (their guilt or unworthiness, so that henceforth they are qualified to take part in the sacrifice of the Aryas).

17. Each of them of brings to their Gṛhpati thirty three (cows). For thirty-three adherents of 'the God' had come (through this Vrātya-Stoma) to prospering. (So this rite serves for reaching prosperity—

XVII. 2—

1. Now (follows the description of) the (Vrātya-Stoma) with Six Sixteen-Versed (Stotras), This (rite) should be performed by those, who base (and) censured, lead a Vrātya-life.

2. One after another they are siezed by bad fortune, who, being (base) and censured, lead a Vrātya-life. In that there are Six-sixteen-Versed Stotras, thereby, they are delivered from bad fortune.

3. In that the agniṣṭoma (—Laud) is twenty-one Versed, the twenty-one Versed Stoma being a firm support, they are firmly supported even in the middle of the sacrifice.

4. It is an Ukthya (—rite); the Uktha (—Laud) are Cattle : *it is the Cattle that leads the base to superiority*. Through Cattle, he leads them to superiority.

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XVII. 3.

1. Now, the (Vrātya-Stoma) with two Sixteen-Versed (Stotras). This would be performed by those, who, being the youngest, lead a Vrātya-life.

2. Destitute, left behind are those, who, being the youngest, lead a Vrātya-life. In that the Pavamāna (—lauds) are Nine-Versed, the Nine-Versed (Stoma) being the mouth (or chief one) of the Stomas, he (thereby) leads them to the mouth (the chief part) of the sacrifice.

3. In that there are two Sixteen-Versed (Lauds), they thereby, are delivered from their bad fortune.

4. The agnistoma (—Laud) is twenty-one Versed. The twenty-one Versed Stoma is a firm support. They are firmly supported at the end of the sacrifice.

XVII. 4.

1. Now, the Stoma for those (Vrātyas) who by old age are precluded from sexual intercourse. This (rite) should be performed by those who, being the oldest, lead a Vrātya-life.

2. From the top they ascend to the top. The Stomas go upwards (increase in number of Verses) : in order that they may not fall down—

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3. This (rite) was (once upon a time) performed by those (Vrātyas), who by old age were precluded from sexual intercourse. Their Gṛhpati was Kusitaka, the son of Samaśravas. Luśakapi, the Son of Khargala, cursed them, saying : "They are fallen off ; they have applied two smaller Lauds" In consequence thereof none of the descendants of Kusitaka amounts to much, for they have fallen off from the sacrifice.

Note :—[In Jaim-Brh-II. 226." "Now the (Vrātya-Stoma) of the Aisikapāvas, who had Kusitaka as their Gṛhpati, a Sacrifice of which the pavamāna-laud are Sixteen-Versed" etc. In *Nidānsutra* VI. II. There are two kinds of Vrātyas; the Sīrsādis and the Aisikayāvis. .For the Sirsadis, he should apply (*i.e.* chant) the agniṣṭoma Sāman or Satobṛhati (verses)—thus says Dhananjay. These they call the older ones. For Aisikayāvis (he should chant it) on pragāthabṛhati (verses)—Dhananjay defends the manner of Kausitakins].

Page 620. [Sixty-One-day-rite.]

XXIV. 18.

1. (b) This the Sixty-one-day-rite of the Vrātyas, the adherents of 'the God'.

2. The Vrātyas, the adherents of 'the God', held a sacrificial session with Buddha as their Sthāpati. They consecrated themselves without having previously begged of king Varuna a place for divine worship· King Varuna cursed them. "I preclude you from a—

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share in the sacrifice. Ye shall not know the path leading to the Gods". Therefore, they (the others, other priests) do not take sacrificial substance (rice, barley etc.) nor (a draught) Soma for them (to sacrifice it on their behalf).

Note :—[Here Sthāpati seems to occupy the place of Gṛhpati. The Vrātyas were not willing to beg a devayajana of Varuna, precisely because they were adherents of "Deva" and not of the usual gods.]

3. Now, at that time, there was neither juice in the herbs nor butter in the milk nor fat in the flesh nor hair on the skin nor leaves on the trees, but since the Vrātyas, the adherents of the Gods, performed this Sixty-one-day-rite, since that time all these (*Viz*-herbs, milk, flesh etc.) were united with these potencies and were full of lustre, full of juice.

Page 622.

4. They (the Vrātyas) throve in all ways. They who undertake these (days) (who perform this rite), thrive in all ways.

About "Rudra" in Connectoin with the Vrātyas

XIV. 9. 12.

This God, forsooth, they call "the hunter". By means of this (Śāmana) he attained the supremacy over both kinds of animal. He who in lauding has applied the mārgīyava (-Śāmana), attains the supremacy over both kinds of animal.

[1—The name Rudra is avoided. The mārgiyava Sāmansas are also called "the chants of Rudra"—

2—That live in the village and that live in the wilds (*J. Br.*)].

XXI. 2. 9.

(Note 4)—We read in *J. Br.* II. 254—'The god addressed the mighty god (isānāṃ Devam i. e. Rudra) "Thou art the most pre-eminent of us . . . . . " Deva as a designation for Rudra is common.

Also refer :—*Ait-Brah*-III. 34. 3.

VI. 2. 5.

The thirty-three fold (Stoma), forsooth, is (equal) the deities : the eight vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, Prajapati and Vasatkāra are thirty second and thirty third.

VI. 5. 19.

Turned to the east they seat themselves near it (thinking) : 'we will, at the beginning of the Sacrifice, undertake are function turned towards the east.

VI. 5. 20.

The easterly region, forsooth is the unconquerable one of the chanters; that they push the *droṇakalaśa* in easterly direction, is for conquering (this) region.

VI. 6. 1.

Having laid together the pressing stones, they shove on them the *droṇakalaśa.* The pressing stones are the peasantry, Soma is the food, the *droṇakalaṣa* is the nobility. By shoving the *droṇakalaśa* on the pressing stones, *they raise the nobility over the peasantry* (*i. e. they make the peasantry, the people, the vaiśyas subject to the baron, the Kshatriya*). (Here we have the earliest example of the rise of feudalism in the early Brāhmanical literature–*RKC*).

VII. 7. 16.

The gods divided the domestic animals among themselves; they excluded Rudra[1]; he fixed his looks on them during the laud of the Vāmadevya[2].

Note :—1—In *Sat-Br*-XII. 7. 3. 20—Rudra is the ruler of cattle.

2—Vāmadevya is cattle; at the moments of its chanting Rudra hopes to obtain it as he was excluded a share.

VIII. 5. 6.

With the Asuras (once) was the whole sacrifice. The Gods saw the yajñāyajñiya. By means of (the words): 'by sacrifice on sacrifice in honour of Agni' they took from the Agnihotra; (by the words) 'and by hymn on hymn in honour of the skilful', the full-and new-moon sacrifices; by (the words) : continually we (will extol) the immortal jātvedas'; the seasonal sacrifices' and by (the words) 'as a dear friend I will extol', the sacrifice of Soma.

VIII. 9. 15.

Gods, having expelled Asura, ascended the world of heaven.

XIII. 9. 23.

By means of Varuna Sāmana-Varuna attained supremancy—

Note :—Rudra consecrated him to kingship.

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